

FIGHT RACISM!

FIGHT IMPERIALISM!

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Liverpool 8 POLICE TERROR

The police are engaged in the most ruthless repression against the working class of Liverpool. Frame-ups, racism, vicious sentences and police thuggery are the order of the day. John White's case is a graphic example. But many more are suffering.

See page 4 for the truth about Liverpool 8.

John White gets four years

The brutal British state has claimed another victim in its quest for revenge after the uprisings of July. John White was sent down for four years for allegedly throwing a petrol bomb. He had gone with a friend on the night of 27 July to check that there was no danger to a cafe his father runs on Smithdown Road, but within an hour had been arrested. He was given a severe beating about the head and body, in the course of which he had a finger broken, and a wound on the head which needed stitches. In court, the five policemen from the Landrover at which he was supposed to have thrown the bomb were only able to agree on one thing: that the bomb had not ignited or exploded. Three of them said he had not fought when he was arrested, two of them said he had, and that was why they had hit him. Some said there was bright street lighting which enabled them to identify him, others said it was pitch black. They were right; the lamps in Milgrave Street where he was arrested had been knocked out. One said there was a car ablaze at the time; the others said it was not. The driver said that John had overtaken him, and that he had had to chase him. The rest denied that there had been a chase. Best of all, the forensic scientist called for the prosecution said that there had been no trace of petrol on John's clothes.

Nevertheless, John White got four years. His friends had been so confident that he would be acquitted they had not bothered to go down to court for the verdict. They are very angry, and are determined to set up a committee – *The Friends of John White*. They have prepared a statement and leaflets and will be organising a picket of Walton prison and public meeting and will be demanding that MPs and other dignitaries support the campaign.

John White is innocent!
Free him now!



REPUBLICAN NEWS

POLICE ATTACKS IN PIMLICO

In all the press hysteria following the Chelsea Barracks bombing in Ebury Bridge Road, a complete silence has been maintained about the activities of the police in the area.

Following the bombing the police carried out dawn raids on flats in Ebury Bridge Estate where a large number of Irish people live. Doors were kicked in, possessions overturned and people questioned. Days after the bombing a local Irishman and his fifteen year old son were arrested under the PTA and held overnight in Paddington Green. Neither had any connection with, or knowledge of the bombing. Both were released without charge.

Two weeks later four Irishmen having a drink in a local pub were suddenly seized by a gang of twenty police thugs, arrested under the PTA and taken off to Rochester Row police station. When they left the pub another man walked in, asked his name and because it was an Irish name he too was arrested. None of the five had any connection with, or knowledge of the bombing. All five were released after some hours without charge.

Every pub and club in Pimlico is swarming with Special Branch, Irish Guards and touts, listening in to conversations and fingering Irish people during raids and arrests.

Whilst the greatest terrorists in the world – the British ruling class – weep crocodile tears about the two civilians who accidentally died in the bombing, the police subject the local Irish community to non-stop repression and harassment. Repression designed to strike fear into the Irish community, provoke hostility towards the Irish and provide the gutter press with cheap and lurid stories about the police 'making arrests' etc. Never was the true purpose of the racist anti-IRA PTA more openly revealed for all to see.

ANTI IRISH HYSTERIA PTA ARRESTS

On Wednesday 4 November in dawn raids throughout London police arrested 14 members and supporters of the IRSP under the racist anti-Irish Prevention of Terrorism Act. As there can be no possible connection between the IRSP and bombing carried out by the IRA, it is clear that these arrests were a direct political attack on an Irish political organisation.

The fourteen were held in Paddington Green and Rochester Row police stations. They were held incommunicado, refused access to solicitors and in the case of a comrade suffering from asthma and another suffering from epilepsy, they were denied medical treatment. Some were released after a few days, but seven were held for the full seven days and then released without charge.

Leo and Margaret O'Neill told what happened to them. They were dragged from their home by armed police and taken away to Rochester Row. They were held in windowless cells with the light burning 24 hours a day. Although they were questioned every day they were not once questioned about the bombings. They were questioned about their political activities, their associates etc. They were threatened with being deported to Ireland where the

police would spread the rumour that they were informers! No gutter is too filthy for the British police to crawl through. After seven days they were released without charge or explanation.

The arrests of the IRSP comrades, alongside the previous arrests in the preceding weeks, show beyond doubt the true purpose of the PTA: to intimidate the Irish community in Britain and their political organisations.

RCG/FRFI supporters took part in nightly pickets in support of the arrested comrades. We whole-heartedly condemn this, the latest, attack on the Irish community in Britain. All five were released after some hours without charge.

Smash the PTA!

The renewed IRA military offensive in Britain has predictably brought forth a flood of reactionary and hypocritical attacks on the Irish people's struggle. From the ruling class hypocritical crocodile tears have been shed about the civilians accidentally killed or injured during the campaign. Given that the most blood-stained terrorist force in the world is British imperialism itself, this is nothing but hypocrisy. Trade union and Labour Party leaders have seized the opportunity to demonstrate their loyalty to their paymaster: British imperialism. The middle class socialists have used the campaign to excuse their own miserable failure to build a movement of support for the Irish struggle by blaming the Irish people. As Socialist Challenge put it 'Undoubtedly, the Chelsea bomb will make the task of building a movement for troop withdrawal in Britain more difficult'.

The RCG puts forward the communist position – in direct opposition to the reactionary cowards of the labour aristocracy and their supporters on the middle class left. The IRA is fighting a legitimate national liberation struggle with the mass support of the Irish people. Communists in Britain support that struggle and therefore defend the right of the Irish people to use whatever tactics they choose in pursuit of their democratic right to national self-determination. All the deaths, injuries and suffering arising from the war of national liberation are directly the responsibility of British imperialism, its agents within the working class, and all those who refuse to give unconditional support to the Irish people's struggle.

Victory to the Irish people!
Hands Off Ireland!

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SWP SAYS SOCIALISM FOR WHITES ONLY

The uprisings in British cities last July decisively confirmed the revolutionary vanguard of black youth. They provided the impetus for the most significant challenge that the British state has met internally for decades. Their lead was readily followed by sections of dispossessed white youth. The youth in recognising the need to fight the forces of the British state have taken the first major step towards creating a communist movement in Britain. Their instinctive solidarity with the national liberation struggles and their own actions show that they are part of the growing worldwide movement that sees the fundamental enemy as imperialism.

There could be no greater contrast than that between the youth battling on the streets and the complacent activity of the British Labour and trade-union movement in the face of the attacks being made by the Thatcher government on the working class. The British Leyland dispute says it all. The leadership of the unions, the skilled and privileged workers chose to hold on to what they had rather than fight to improve the position of the low-paid manual workers at Leyland. The privileged section of workers at Leyland and elsewhere have consistently accepted redundancies and small (for them) reductions in living standards knowing full well that this merely adds to the ranks of the unemployed. Throughout the post-war boom these privileged workers have increased their standard of living, sharing the spoils of imperialism at the expense of the oppressed both at home and abroad. Arising from their privileged position comes their loyalty to British imperialism and their contempt for the oppressed and unemployed. The British Labour Party gives political expression to the narrow, selfish, chauvinist outlook of this privileged layer.

The stark contrast between the revolutionary youth and the conservative Labour movement presents a grave problem for the middle-class socialist left. They have always looked to the 'big battalions' of the British Labour movement to lead the struggle for socialism. Consequently they must work in or with the imperialist Labour Party to reach their political goal. However, they are faced with two inescapable facts. First, that these 'big battalions' and indeed the whole imperialist Labour Party tradition have been proved rotten and bankrupt, concerned only with their own narrow interests - far removed from the struggle for socialism. Second, that it is the youth on the streets, who are showing the traditions of struggle, solidarity and class hatred associated with all real revolutionary movements.

This reality threatens to expose the middle-class socialists' preposterous claims to have any revolutionary socialist credentials at all. After all they have chosen to ally with the pro-imperialist Labour Party rather than the revolutionary forces of the youth. To justify this choice, they have been forced to explicitly deny the revolutionary potential of black working class youth. Indeed they have now gone so far as to deny that the black youth are part of the working class at all!

In the most pernicious racist article yet produced by a so-called revolutionary socialist organisation, the SWP has decided that the black youth are 'lumpen'. Not daring to openly admit that his main concern is black youth, the author Jonathan Neal coins the phrase 'street people'.

'...The street people are the vulnerable underbelly of the working class. The SPG cops who practise on black kids in Brixton graduate to picket lines.'

'Their economic position makes street people militant, angry, and disorganised... The protests can be very angry indeed - they burn down whole cities. But in the end they die away, because there is no organisation and nothing to hold onto.' (*Socialist Review* 13 1981)

That this is the official view of the SWP is shown in an article by their leading academic Chris Harman in which he says:

'In the long term, however, the energy displayed on the streets will be dissipated unless it moves to a terrain more favourable for the building of permanent organisation - to the workplaces'.

'Attempts to organise these youth can also channel the anger from the streets into the ranks of powerful sections of the class' (*International Socialism* 14 1981)

Here we see it is not a question of 'permanent organisation' but the political content of that organisation. The power of the 'big battalions' is impotent so long as it is not consciously directed against the British state and British imperialism. For as long as these 'powerful sections of the class' are dominated by privileged pro-imperialist layers then the power of the dockers, miners, etc. will be used to defend their own sectional interest and not those of the working class as a whole.

Once this is understood and shorn of rhetoric the SWP's position is a call to divert the revolutionary struggle of the youth into the safer channels of the Labour movement, in order to prevent black working class youth from exercising their revolutionary influence on the working class movement as a whole. That is why in an earlier period the SWP, fearful of black youth clashing with the NF and the police on the streets, set up the Anti-Nazi-League, an alliance with racist Labour politicians. It is no coincidence that this once-massive ANL now barely exists at a time when fascist attacks are mounting daily.

Harman and the SWP fear revolutionary struggle, particularly when it takes a violent form and is completely divorced from the more lofty concerns (Benn, the Labour Party, CND etc) of the British left. That this is the real motive rather than a supposed concern for 'permanent organisation' is shown by the SWP's attitude to the revolutionary organisations created by the oppressed out of their struggle. Thus they say that the League of Revolutionary Black Workers in the USA in the 1960s relied

for its cadre 'largely on lumpen elements' and this they say gave rise to internal and leadership problems. In fact the League of Revolutionary Black Workers was built from caucuses of revolutionary black workers in the car plants of Detroit. At its height it was largely composed of black workers and had strong influence in the car plants, hospitals and newspaper industry. One of the main factors in its destruction was the scabbing role played by the local and national trade union leaders, many of them associated, in the 1930s, with the socialist movement of that time. It was the isolation imposed by the racist Labour movement on this black revolutionary organisation which allowed black anti-communists to undermine it from within, as the state and its Labour movement allies destroyed it from without. The lessons to be drawn from this experience are the direct opposite of those drawn by the SWP. For it is into the arms of such a pro-imperialist racist Labour movement that the SWP wishes to draw black working class youth today. And if the youth refuse to be drawn then the SWP will scornfully dismiss them and their revolutionary methods as lumpen and incapable of giving rise to socialist organisation. This is said in order to turn the rest of the working class away from the revolutionary lead which the black youth are giving.

Again we can see 'permanent organisation' is not the issue for when the oppressed create or turn to a real revolutionary organisation to consolidate and take forward their struggle on the streets, then we find again that the SWP attacks them. If they use revolutionary force to fight imperialism they will not meet with the SWP's approval. We only need to look at the Provisional IRA whose ranks are full of those who were the young working class street fighters of Derry and Belfast in 1969. The IRA is a 'permanent organisation'. But the SWP consistently attacks and slanders it. Of its leaders they say:

'...the leaders are full of their own bullshit and political gamesmanship, cut off from reality, never grasping the real initiative, their forms of organisation (road blocks, searches, military offensives) a carbon copy of the methods of the British state'.

This they say of the leadership of a revolutionary organisation confronting the armed might of the British state. It is no surprise that in order to keep their 'respectable' image, so necessary for work in the Labour movement, the SWP call on the IRA to give up its military struggle. Whether it be petrol bombs in the hands of the Liverpool 8 youth or the Armalite in the hands of an IRA volunteer, the SWP's reaction is the same - Drop it!

The SWP's racist contempt for black youth fighting on the streets and Irish revolutionaries fighting an armed struggle against British imperialism has nothing to do with communism. Indeed the SWP's socialism has everything in common with that of the Fabian Socialists of the nineteenth century - the elitist, paternalistic, pacifist group of middle class social reformers who saw their superior British selves as leading humanity on the path of salvation.

The SWP has not learned what Lenin taught us long ago - that a fundamental split exists in the international working class movement between a privileged pro-imperialist layer and the dispossessed anti-imperialist masses. The revolutionary movement has no future if it does not build on the anti-imperialist masses. That is why Lenin argued that 'the essence of Marxist tactics... is... to go down lower and deeper to the real masses'. For the 'lowest mass', the real majority... are not infected by "bourgeois respectability"'. But it is just this respectability that the SWP has chosen and which drives it to attempt to divert the anger of the black youth into the Labour movement. The communist position is quite clear. It consists:

'in work that brings closer and merges into a single whole the elemental destructive force of the masses and the conscious destructive force of the organisation of revolutionaries.' (Lenin)

Today that means recognising the revolutionary role played by the black youth who took part in the uprisings. Communists must work with them to prevent the future movement that they represent from being isolated and crushed by the British state and its allies. Out of this will arise a new communist movement.

SOUTH AFRICA IN BRIEF

● Mozambique

On 28 October, the South African backed MNR destroyed an important bridge cutting the road link between the port of Beira in Mozambique and Zimbabwe. In the same period, the MNR, on behalf of apartheid has attempted to sabotage the railway line linking Zimbabwe to Beira and the Beira-Umtali (Zimbabwe) oil pipeline. These attacks are designed to force the frontline African states to use the more expensive South African trade routes for their exports and imports and thus bind them more tightly to the imperialist economy.

● White farmers and British soldiers

White South African farmers who murder black workers are treated in the same way as British soldiers who murder Irish nationalists. One Mr de Witt, using a shotgun, killed a black farmworker - 55 year old Jackson Lungile Zwengu. He was brought to trial charged with murder and acquitted on the grounds that it had not been proved beyond reasonable doubt that he had acted unlawfully and had intended to kill Mr Zwengu. As with British soldiers in Ireland, white racists in South Africa can murder blacks with impunity in the full knowledge that the courts will acquit them.

● Apartheid genocide

In a warning of apartheid's genocidal intentions the head of South Africa's Department of Health and Welfare J. de Beer said that compulsory sterilization and abortion may be forced on South Africa's black population. Claiming that black poverty and unemployment is caused by their high numbers, Beer said the answer was to lower fertility: '...whether by compulsory measures from the state, or by a rise in mortality and misery.' The black masses already suffer intolerable misery and a rocketing mortality rate. Not content with murder by the slow death of poverty and through shooting strikers and schoolchildren, the criminal apartheid system is now trying to prevent black children being born. Such measures will never succeed in preventing the birth of people's power in South Africa.

● Black workers' strikes

Recently issued statistics on black workers' strikes in South Africa reveal a massive increase in militancy. In 1980 there were 134 strikes involving more than 42,000 black workers. This compared with 51 strikes involving 10,000 black workers in 1979. There were also 70 work stoppages involving over 13,000 workers compared to 45 in 1979 involving less than 5,000. In the same report issued by the South African Department of Manpower, ruling class fear of the black workers' participation in the liberation struggle is stated in the following terms:

'There were indications that the trade union movement was in certain instances being used to promote political objectives... There were instances of objectives that were not always of a purely economic nature...'.

● White children used to break strike

500 black workers were sacked by Triomf Fertiliser when they went on strike for a 35% wage increase. South African capitalists normally hope to recruit replacements for such workers from the vast army of starving unemployed blacks. It appears they are having some difficulty in doing so at Triomf Fertiliser. They have used over 100 white children to try and break the black workers' strike.

● ANC military operations

The Umkhonto we Sizwe military campaign continues unabated. On 22 and 23 October three successful guerrilla operations took place. In Evander, East Transvaal an electricity sub station was bombed, the industrial water supply line to SASOL 3 plant at Secunda was blown up and an Electricity Supply Commission building in Whitbank destroyed. The unit retreated safely after the operations. Less than a week later an Umkhonto unit assaulted and destroyed a Police Station in Sibasa, the capital town of the Venda 'homeland'. Once again the ANC's military wing is proving its devastating effectiveness in the field of battle.

● Indians boycott Botha

Prime Minister Botha vainly tried to divide South Africa's 800,000 Indian population from the black masses oppressed by apartheid. He offered them the 'right' to 'vote' in an impotent South African Indian Council (SAIC). The Indian people, suffering the same oppression, poverty and denial of elementary democratic rights as other sections of the black masses were not taken in by this ploy. A massive boycott campaign was organised and on polling day there was hardly anyone to be seen at the polling booths. At a massive public meeting on Sunday 1 November people backed a call for election candidates to be: '... thrown out of the community and into the dustbin of history where they belong.' A leader of Natal Anti-SAIC Committee declared that participation would be: '... betraying our African brothers and sisters and our Coloured brothers and sisters.' Once again Botha has failed to divide and weaken the forces of the oppressed.

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SOUTH AFRICA

FRFI The struggle in South Africa has now reached a new stage. The armed struggle is intensifying and the workers' struggles are increasing in number, scope and in determination. The prospect of revolutionary struggle is much better than ever before. Could you say something about this situation.

RM It is true that the situation inside in the country has changed dramatically particularly in the last two years. There has been an intensification of both the armed and the political struggle. I think that you are also aware that the ANC took this decision [to use arms] after a long period of peaceful protest to try and change the situation in South Africa. They reached a point when they felt there was no point in carrying on trying to get a change through peaceful means and decided on the armed struggle. This has been intensified in the last year and we have carried out quite a number of armed attacks. At the same time there has also been an intensification in the political struggle. Now I think that it is important that we should realise that this is one struggle. One cannot divide the armed struggle from the political struggle. In order for us to have more success militarily we have got to mobilise even more politically. The two are interwoven and they can't be divided. The new phase, as has been indicated in all of our statements, both by President O.R. Tambo and leaders of our organisation, is mobilisation, political mobilisation of our forces inside South Africa, of the people inside. Because when you speak of the armed struggle in South Africa, who is fighting? It's the workers of South Africa who are fighting. It is the women of South Africa who are fighting. It is the youth of South Africa who are fighting. They are the guerilla fighters. They are Umkhonto we Sizwe. The armed wing of the African National Congress is not the kind of organisation which has got only a certain type of people involved. It has all kinds of people involved in this work. Political mobilisation inside the country is very important because it complements the military struggle.

FRFI Following the death sentences on the ANC six, the ANC made a statement saying the mass political struggle will intensify and the armed struggle will be raised to new and higher levels. Can you explain why the ANC has taken the decision recently to further escalate the armed struggle? Why in particular?

RM The decision to intensify the armed struggle inside South Africa is not a decision that was taken recently. It is better to look at it as a struggle which is building up year by year. In the last few years, we have been more successful. The political situation has changed because of the independence of the countries surrounding South Africa. The independence of Mozambique, the independence of Angola and Zimbabwe in particular, this has to a great extent influenced the situation inside the country. You see we no longer have to stretch our arms over hostile territory to reach our people. We can now go to our people directly. We can bring solidarity materials which we need for our struggle directly to the people. We are able to consult politically much more easily. So this change because of the independence of all these countries has influenced even the tempo of our work inside the country. Secondly we get a lot of political solidarity from these countries. This affects the amount of work we are able to do. If we look back, it sometimes took months to get solidarity material across enemy territory into the country. The independence of these countries has not been just a success for their own peoples, it has also been a success for us. It has carried our country a



Ruth Mompati

number of steps forward. We are able to operate inside the country, we are able to plan our work effectively in direct contact with people inside the country. We are able to arm our people at a time when it is necessary to arm them.

FRFI In the face of the independence of Angola, Mozambique and Zimbabwe, imperialism has been further fortifying the apartheid state. Could you comment on the role of American imperialism in South Africa today?

RM It is true that the Reagan administration has stepped up its imperialist aggression against the peoples who are fighting oppression – the majority of the people in South Africa, but one should take into consideration that the only difference between Reagan and past presidents of the USA is that Reagan is more open in his aggression. He is telling us to our faces, 'I don't like what you are doing, I don't agree with the independence of black people, and I am going to oppose you and support apartheid.' But if you go a little back you will find Kissinger was doing exactly the same thing. It is stated in Memorandum 39 that as far as the USA government was concerned, independence for the black people of South Africa was not on. That it was not time for black people to take power and that they would continue to support apartheid South Africa. The real reason for this is that South Africa is part of the imperialist world. It is an imperialist nation itself because it exports capital. That is why Reagan, Thatcher and other imperialist leaders have for the past period been plotting to organise the South Atlantic Treaty Organisation which was going to coordinate the activities of the imperialists in the Southern hemisphere. They intended to bring together the USA, Brazil, Israel, South Africa, into the NATO group and together work against any independence movement in South Africa and then use South Africa as a spring board against the already independent states of Africa. So I agree with you, this is imperialism.

The independence of Angola and Mozambique is against imperialism because they are organising society the way the people want it. The imperialists realise that they have lost in these two countries, they are going to lose their huge investments and their huge economic role in South Africa.

FRFI Britain has been a steadfast ally of everything that the USA has done in the past period. Have you any comments on the role of British imperialism?

RM Britain has been in South Africa from the very beginning. Whatever kind of government we have in South Africa comes from the British. We call it apartheid today, it was called segregation before, this came from Britain. Britain has had a hold on all aspects of the South African economy. It is only recently that

SMASH APARTHEID NOW!



Interview with Ruth Mompati, ANC Chief Representative in Britain

the Afrikaaners have played a full part in the economy. So in fact British imperialism holds a large part of the South African economy, through the banks, the mines, all aspects of the economy. The USA has also got direct investments, this has increased over the past few years. Both Britain and America are also heavily involved militarily in South Africa. Whatever South Africa is doing militarily both Britain and the USA are well aware of it.

FRFI In the past the press has downgraded the role played by the ANC in the leadership of the liberation movement and has counterposed the black consciousness movement to the ANC. Could you say something about the black consciousness movement?

RM When we speak of black consciousness we must be very clear of what we are talking about. Sometimes, as you say, the enemies of the peoples of South Africa and of the ANC, have tried to say that black consciousness is something which is opposed to the ANC, or something to which the ANC is opposed. But in actual fact black consciousness as it started was an organisation of people who came together in a situation where you could only act as black people. If you look at who is in the black consciousness movement, you will find members of the ANC, members of various religious movements, all sorts of people. The ANC had members who were leaders of the black consciousness movement. We in the ANC have never been against the black consciousness movement. We have never claimed that we are the black consciousness movement, because we are not. We are a banned organisation, we could never operate openly inside the country. We can only operate in the underground and as individuals who are members of different organisations. If our underground has organised black consciousness groups this is another matter. But we have never seen the black consciousness movement as enemies of the ANC.

In the last few years a number of organisations have tried to use the black consciousness movement as something to cling to, and so have the enemy. Some people have tried to set up a third force which would not be the ANC, not the Communist Party of South Africa, but something in the middle they could control. They have tried to use some people, disgruntled leaders, to set themselves up and then speak in the name of black consciousness. But it is clear from the black consciousness groups inside the country that they do not see the future of an organisation which only deals with black people.

You must also understand that the ANC started as a black organisation. We have always thought it important that black people become conscious, proud of the

fact that they are Africans, and that black people should know that the struggle is their struggle. Nobody will come from outside and fight it for them. The black people must carry out this struggle themselves. We went a step further. There are other people in South Africa who have their own organisations, the Indian people, the coloured people, we have to work with them. They are also oppressed and exploited. So we must have a unity of the oppressed masses. We have taken a step yet further. There are white people and they must join us because there is no future in apartheid even for the white child, the white people. We must come together as a people and fight for freedom. I will add that I think it was in 1970 that Comrade Oliver Tambo described black people as firstly the black people of South Africa, the coloured people of South Africa, the Indian people of South Africa, and any white person who identifies with the ideals and aspirations of the majority of the oppressed people. If you are white and you are with us then you belong to the black people, then you are part of us.

FRFI Can you say something about the role of the USSR in Southern Africa.

RM When I grew up in South Africa, when I was at school, the only literature black people were given free was anti-Communist. We were always told about the bad, bad wolf, the USSR. But when I joined the ANC I found that the only countries prepared to give help and solidarity to the liberation movement were the socialist countries, the USSR in particular because it was more able to. Even now the USSR is one of the countries which has given political, moral, material support to all the countries in Southern Africa which fought for their independence – Mozambique, Angola, Zimbabwe. They are now giving that support to the ANC. South Africa uses the USSR as a target because they are helping the ANC.

FRFI As you know that FRFI gives unconditional support to the ANC in its struggle for liberation. There are however some sections of the left in this country who criticise the ANC because they say it sacrifices the workers' struggle in South Africa in order to carry out an armed guerilla struggle.

RM This has been said in certain quarters and usually by people who want to attack the ANC. The fact of the matter is that the ANC is a political organisation inside South Africa. It organises first and foremost politically. It is from this work that we organise the military cadres. Unless our people are organised politically we will not succeed. When they say that we sacrifice the workers' struggle to the military struggle, we have been responsible for many of the activities of the trade union movement in South Africa. Many of the trade union leaders who have been

killed by the enemy in South Africa have been members of the ANC. All the political leaders of the trade union structures are now outside the country, those who have been active in the struggle, are now in the ANC. The political struggle in South Africa for us is very important when the struggles of the workers, the women, the youth, the military and the ANC are co-ordinated, that will mean the struggle forward. The imperialist in the last two years has been the same. Co-ordination has existed. It has meant that the military wing has broad cross-section base among people.

FRFI We know the record of the South African government. Its use of the apparatus to try to crush the ANC. Now they are turning on the ANC in Britain. They are threatening to close plants here if the strike goes on. What would you say to the workers at their present strike?

RM We have been calling on the workers in the world, governments of the world, to support sanctions against South Africa. We have said that the struggle of the workers in South Africa is the struggle of all workers including those in Britain. Duffy said that they were going to Africa to take the workers out of the struggle, our response was that the struggle in Britain should be continued. Coordination and co-operation in South Africa and Britain. We support the Leyland workers in Britain to support the Leyland workers in South Africa then we will have reached a height in the organisation of workers. We would like to say to the workers that we support their struggle against their bosses, but we know that Edwards will close the plants in Britain and the more plants in South Africa, to increase labour. Leyland will lose nothing by increasing their profits. This is international cartels work. If there are more organised in one country employers cannot break them, they will close up and move their factories to the countries where there is cheap labour. The workers are not organised, so saying lets apply sanctions so employers cannot do this.

AFRICAN NATIONAL CONCERT (South Africa)

Theatre Royal, Drury Lane
John Dankworth, Cleo Laine
John Williams, George Martin
13 December 1981 at 7.30pm
in aid of

SOLOMON MAHLANGU
FREEDOM COLLEGE, TANZANIA

LIVERPOOL

Police fit up Phil Robins: and Kenny Anderson

Not content with their attempts to frame Paul Conroy, the perverted Liverpool police have turned their attention towards Phil Robins and Kenny Anderson.

Phil Robins was shot twice with CS gas canisters on the morning of 7 July, being hit in the back and the chest. The wound in his back has still not healed four months later, and still requires daily dressing. But in order to undermine his claim for compensation, the police are trying to pin two burglary charges on him. Following a raid on his mother's home, they charged him on 26 October with a burglary that had taken place four months before the riots! They had, they announced 'discovered' his fingerprints at the place concerned. The following Friday, they raided his mother's again, saying they were looking for credit cards, cheque books, cash and jewellery. For the second time, they found nothing. But they still want to 'question' Phil, and he is certain that they would clap him in Risley if he saw them, so that he would be out of their way. He is due for committal on the first charge on 17 November.

Kenny Anderson was also hit with a CS gas projectile. He was severely injured in the groin; he had to have part of an artery replaced and has lost the sense of feeling in part of his right leg.

On the morning of 26 October, ever so coincidentally the same day that Phil Robins was charged, the police broke through the door into his flat and arrested him. He now faces four charges – throwing a petrol bomb, throwing a brick, causing an affray and possession of an offensive weapon. Police are calling him a ring leader of the uprisings when everybody knows he was not involved at all. During the raid they took away the coat he had worn on the night he was wounded, and then went round to his sister's house, and, under the pretence that they had his solicitor's permission, took away his jeans as well. No doubt they will use the opportunity to 'discover' petrol on the clothes the same way they 'discovered' Phil's fingerprints.

He has now been refused legal aid to pursue his claim for compensation. Kenny says the only reason they are charging him is because he put in the claim, and because he was so badly injured. He adds that if they convict him he will go on hunger strike. If the police feel free to fit up Phil and Kenny in this way, what will they do with Davy Moore. At the moment there is complete silence. But what are the odds that they will 'prove' he too was a ring-leader throwing petrol bombs?

Robert Clough

Guerilla warfare in Liverpool 8

The struggle against police harassment continues in Liverpool 8 as the front line youth adopt guerilla tactics. On 16 October, a group of 20 youths attacked two policemen on foot patrol. One fled for his life, leaving his colleague to face the wrath of the youth. After dealing with this policeman the youths melted away. Five days later, following an unprovoked attack by riot police on Granby Street, another policeman was dealt a similar punishment. But half an hour later, two more received some short, sharp shock treatment. This time, a radio was captured, and was used to jam all police radio transmissions for several hours throughout the Liverpool 8 area. A spokesman for the Police Federation complained 'It is guerilla warfare. If anybody is being harassed, it is the police'.

Liverpool Post/Echo

The sordid record of the Post/Echo is unending. As a censor of the frame-ups against Paul Conroy and Ann Harries, it is second to none. But that is not all. When Mrs Pat Feron saw what happened to Paul Conroy on the morning of 28 July, she immediately telephoned the Post/Echo and insisted that they send a reporter up to cover the incident. 'We're not coming up there,' was the reply, 'That's the coon's area'. As racist as the police they cover up for.

Paul Conroy

The conspiracy against Paul Conroy gathers momentum. He has now been committed on a charge of throwing two petrol bombs. Meanwhile, the lad who came to his assistance, and who had a baton broken on his head for his pains, was sent to a detention centre for six months. The police fabricated a story that he had thrown a stone at a police vehicle, causing it to crash, and that he had been caught after he had tripped running away from the incident. A similar process is at

mass of trials take place from mid-November onward. Technically, pickets of courts have always been in contempt of court, but only now, when the stakes are so high, does the state make an issue of it. It is frightened that such demonstrations would be an effective resistance against the mounting repression. The incident shows that democratic rights just do not exist unless they are fought for.

Police brutality

The courage of the police is to be marvelled at. One night a few weeks ago, 14-year-old Leon was with two of his friends in Princes Boulevard, when a vanload of police told them to move on. The van drove round the boulevard, then stopped. A policeman got out, ran over to Leon and shouted 'Next time you shout the odds, I'll fill your f..... mouth with my fist'. He then dragged Leon behind the van, where two more policemen got out. The first one then butted him in the mouth, whilst one of the others said 'Next time we catch you laughing, we will f... you too'.

Ann Harries 3 years

Ann Harries has been framed for throwing a petrol bomb and sent down for three years.

Her hungerstrike, which lasted for four weeks, forced the state to bring her trial forward by two months. But it took place in conditions of near-secrecy – in a court with only eight seats for the public, and with no reporter present from the local press.

The case was simple: three policemen said that she had thrown a petrol bomb at their armoured van which had exploded. The fact is that this was impossible. Forensic evidence proved that the bottle she had had, which she had thrown away after all its contents had accidentally spilled on her clothes, had been filled with turps. The forensic evidence also proved that turps bombs do not ignite let alone explode. So the policemen had lied: she had not thrown anything. But Ann had been a witness to the murder of David Moore, and had helped to arrange a safe conduct for the ambulance to take him away. She had also been taunted and abused after her arrest. These two facts were all that were needed for her conviction. The jury achieved the singular feat of finding her guilty of throwing a petrol bomb – that is, something that had burst into flames – but not guilty of arson – that is, it hadn't burst into flames. *Fight Racism! Fight Imperialism!* condemns this frame-up, and sends its solidarity to Ann and her family. We say:

Free Ann Harries now!

Robert Clough

LIVERPOOL
Rally
Democracy for the Rich,
Repression for the Poor!
Speaker from Friends of
John White Committee
Friday 11 December 7.30pm
Stanley House
Upper Parliament Street
Liverpool 8

RESIST REPRESSION

As the articles on these pages show, the British state is engaged in a major repressive drive against the working class communities which fought the police during the July Uprisings.

House raids, frame-ups, beatings, savage sentences and racism are the order of the day. In new sinister moves political bail restrictions are being imposed (as for the Bradford 12) and even whole pickets of courts have been arrested.

Yet in the face of this there are no serious protests from Labour MPs, the Trade Union movement, civil liberties bodies, CRE/CRCs, the left press etc. Indeed these middle class layers have either ignored or, when given the opportunity, sabotaged organised defence work.

The newly emerging revolutionary movement is fast learning that the oppressed and working class youth must take the organisation of defence into their own hands and build powerful defence committees in all areas. These defence committees must be based on the working class youth themselves, and express their revolutionary anti-imperialist determination. They must also express the unity of the black and white youth who fought side by side against the racist British police on the streets of Liverpool, Manchester, London and elsewhere throughout the country.

Those who stand in the way of this vital development are – unwittingly or unwittingly – aiding the state in its repressive drive. For nothing less than massive revolutionary defence campaigns will begin to turn back the tide of repression.

Defend Shirley May Graham

Shirley May Graham faces deportation. Why? Because she is black. This attack follows a long list of others – Anwar Ditta, Nasira Begum, Jaswinder Kaur and many more. These names spring to mind because in these cases long and bitter defence campaigns have been or are being fought to win basic rights. But what of the many thousands who have not had that chance – turned back at high commissions, arrested at airports, taken from their factories or kidnapped on their way home?

Shirley May Graham came to Britain in 1974 to join her family which has been here since the early 1950's. She has worked here, made a home and raised a family. Yet since 1978, the Home Office and immigration officials have waged a relentless attack against her right to remain in Britain. She has had to endure countless interviews, where such questions as 'did you ask your husband to marry you?' are put to her. She has suffered endless visits, at all hours by immigration officials who have also snooped on her family. The Home Office has now supposedly 'lost' her file, so a further round of interrogations are now taking place.

This constant harassment culminated when Shirley returned from holiday. She was stopped at Gatwick airport and taken to Handsworth Detention Centre, where she was held for 5 days. Shirley is a diabetic and has high blood pressure. The so-called doctors denied her medical treatment and prescribed her the wrong tablets for her blood pressure.

Following the intervention of friends and family she was released and given



Shirley May Graham

'temporary admission' to the country which is her home! As a result she has been sacked from her hospital job, while the state refuses to pay her any benefits. She was recently admitted to hospital for a major operation and because of her 'temporary status' was forcibly discharged before proper recovery. Recently her house was burgled. The response of the police was to try and blame her son. Such is the conspiracy by the racist state trying to drive Shirley out of Britain.

Ask Shirley why she is fighting and she will tell you plainly – 'If they deport me, there is no fight, then it is much easier for them to pick on the next person. You must fight now!'

A defence campaign has been set up and is open to everyone who is prepared to work. It meets regularly to organise activities such as pickets and public meetings. Send messages of support and donations to:

Shirley May Graham Defence Campaign
c/o 285 Romford Road,
Forest Gate,
London E7 (tel. 01-555 3331)

No Deportations!
Defend Shirley May Graham!
Mark Peters

BRADFORD 12 COMMITTED FOR TRIAL

The 12 members and supporters of the United Black Youth League have now been committed for trial, in what is the foremost case involving the use of conspiracy laws following the July Uprisings. On 22 October the state finally brought the case to the stage of committal proceedings — the trial will be held in Leeds Crown Court although no date has yet been given. Before the committal proceedings a further two of the defendants had been released on bail after applications to High Court judges. One of them, Giovanni Singh, was given bail only on the condition that he report daily to the police, that he remains under curfew from 9pm to 6am every day and that he provided sureties totalling £20,000! On the day of the committal proceedings a further five of the 12 were released on bail, after being imprisoned for three months. The Magistrates, as with those already released, granted bail only after imposing the most severe and restrictive conditions imaginable.

All but one of the five are forbidden to take part in any political activity. They must all remain at home from 10pm to 7am every night and all must report regularly to the police station, some every day. In addition to this, their families and friends have had to put up massive sureties running to thousands of pounds. One was only released on the condition that he live in Birmingham! The bail conditions are so restrictive, that one is reminded of South Africa where black political activists are forced under 'house arrest'.

Despite the court's viciousness when it comes to giving bail, a significant victory was scored against the state in early October. Tarlochan Gata-aura, one of the Bradford 12, appealed against the conviction brought against him after the clashes between the police and black and white youth on 11 July. He had originally been forced to plead guilty to a 'breach of the peace' charge, after being held for nearly two days in the most appalling conditions, as all the youth who had pleaded 'not guilty' to the charges were automatically remanded in custody. The judge was thus forced to admit that Tarlochan Gata-aura did not have the 'free and unfettered choice' to make the not guilty plea that he wanted. Tarlochan Gata-aura's conviction and fine were set aside and a retrial was ordered.

The murder of Winston Rose

Attacks on black people merit next to no mention in the racist British press and when they do, they are treated with pure derision. The murder of Winston Rose was no exception to this rule.

On 13 July, Winston Rose was murdered by the racist British police force, called to get him, by a doctor who 'felt' Winston was 'acting strangely'. They, 12 of them, beat him up in his own garden and carried him motionless to their van into which they threw him. 15 minutes later Winston was pronounced dead at Whips Cross Hospital.

The next weekend, two senior Scotland Yard officers told Harold Evans, editor of *The Times* 'To avoid too much publicity over Winston's death.' They were obviously worried because of the kind of publicity they were getting with the uprisings still going on.

But the evidence that came to light at the inquest on 13-21 October was such that the press could not ignore it. The racist press poison was splashed all over the facts in the hope of distorting the truth — Winston Rose 'The Black Mentally Disturbed Man', 'The Violent Giant', 'The Paranoiac Schizophrenic', 'The Burly Black Boxer'. After reading some of the stories in the press you start to wonder how 12 brave officers of the law had the courage to face up to such a man, also incorrectly said to be 6ft 6in weighing 18 stone, with a 'Physique Like The Incredible Hulk'.

Despite all the slanted, unsympathetic distortions by the press, and the coroner's attempts to misdirect the inquest jury, the jury's verdict was one of 'unlawful killing' (ie murder). Once again the state has come up against organised resistance to its attacks.

After Winston's murder the Winston Rose Action Committee (WRAC) was set up building support amongst the black community in Leytonstone. At the inquest the public gallery was always packed, outside pickets were held. With this and the ongoing campaign mounted by the WRAC the coroner knew that the only verdict that would pass unchallenged was one of unlawful killing. Only organised communities brought Anwar Ditta's children home, freed the St Paul's 16 and forced the state to find the right verdict in this case.

The WRAC now intends to take legal action against the Waltham Forest social workers, the doctor involved and the Metropolitan Police. If they are to score another victory against this state, they need your support and money.

Messages and donations to:

WRAC
c/o 25 Church Hill
Walthamstow
London E17
K Ace Kelly

Serious charges in Chapeltown

Eight youths in Leeds still await trial on charges of theft and receiving stolen property and charges relating to explosives and petrol bombs. These are the most serious charges against the people of Chapeltown in the wake of the uprisings. Only two of the defendants, Mohammed Hussain, a school pupil, and David Johnson have been granted bail. The other six, Malcolm Bouch, Mick Fahy, Christopher Hankinson, Philip Claxton, Frederick Harbinson and Alan Johnson have been held on remand since July.

The police and courts will never let up in their attempts to ensure convictions. Mick Fahy has been singled out by the police. He has been refused bail despite immense domestic problems including the attempted suicide of Mrs Fahy. He has also been charged with a burglary which took place two weeks before the uprising. His father, Mr Fahy, sees his son's trial as a political trial and the charges are like 'those driven at you in Belfast'. The courts continue their charade by failing to even notify the defendants' solicitors of the date of the committal hearing.

After the harsh repression meted out to the people of Chapeltown, the police and courts have this, the major show trial to stage and they will do all they can to secure convictions. A defence committee has been set up to prevent this, and meets every Sunday afternoon at 3pm in Chapeltown Community Centre.

Chas Millington

WRP condemn youth

'My party is absolutely opposed to looting, making molotov cocktails, smashing homes and shops and the stabbing of policemen. Such violent acts have nothing to do with the struggle of trade unions or the fight for socialism. I have in my possession a letter on behalf of the Chief Constable of Derbyshire, acknowledging the entirely non-violent nature of the Workers Revolutionary Party.'

Above is the crux of a snivelling letter written to the *Times* (21 October) by Vanessa Redgrave. She goes on to say:

'Youth can only develop when they can learn a skilled trade, and can apply and develop their skill in work which benefits the community.'

However, the major battle lies ahead and the state is clearly determined to victimise the 12 as a warning to the revolutionary youth. Only a determined mass campaign in their defence will prevent this. The demonstration called for 12 December by the July 11th Action Committee is an opportunity to begin to mobilise the support that undoubtedly exists. All serious communists, anti-racists and supporters of democratic rights will fight to see that such support is mobilised and will say with one voice:

Drop the charges now!
Defend the Bradford 12!

BB

DEFEND WOOLWICH

Most of the cases from the Woolwich fightback have been dealt with resulting in sentences of up to three months detention and fines ranging from £50 to £600 on charges like obstruction and threatening behaviour.

From the beginning of July police claimed that they had 'concrete evidence' of an impending attack on the town, in particular the Sikh Temple and the Simba project. Throughout the week all meetings and activities which involved the youth were cancelled. On 9 July police recommended that all shops and offices board up their premises and send staff home. By dinner time the local schools were advised to close. The police and army then moved in ambulance units. St Nicholas emergency unit was also specially opened. In the early evening police sealed off the town centre. 8 SPG units and 50 police were on standby at Westcombe police station and 300 police were on the streets. They then set about the youths, who were waiting for this imminent attack.

By grouping their superior numbers and charging the youths with dogs the police won the evening of 9 July. Not being content with brutality on the streets alone, the British state continues the attack in the prisons and the courts. Youths have been on curfew since July waiting to appear in court. Support is needed in the courts. We must not stand alone, we cannot stand by and be criminalised for fighting back against racist British oppression.

Woolwich Defence Committee needs the support of the community, physically as well as in sterling. They can be contacted at

The Simba Project
48-50 Artillery Place
Woolwich
London SE18
Telephone: 01-317 0451

It's your duty to get in touch!

K Ace Kelly

High minded statements indeed. But what she omits to point out is that youth might also find it difficult to 'develop' when they've been crippled by a police van like Paul Conroy or when they are dead like David Moore or Winston Rose.

On one point however she's dead right. The fight back on the streets this year had nothing whatsoever to do with 'the struggle of the trade unions'. The cowardly trade union leaders have, like Ms Redgrave turned their backs on the oppression of black people and sided with the likes of the Chief Constable of Derbyshire constabulary. All three condemn the violence of the oppressed and fear that the fightback of the oppressed will one day sweep them and their likes away.

The revolutionary uprising of the youth certainly has nothing in common with the 'socialism' of the WRP. That 'socialism' is in reality pro-imperialism which attacks all those — be they the IRA or the revolutionary youth — who challenge British imperialism.

Carol Owen

FIGHT RACISM IN BRIEF

● Racist thugs on the rampage in Manchester

Recently 3 African students walking back home savagely attacked by racist thugs wielding 4ft long bars. The 3 thugs sprang from hiding near the technic buildings, where the Mancunian way past over Oxford Road. Such was the viciousness of attack that one student needed over 40 stitches to face while another needed 10 stitches and had 3 smashed in. It could have been even worse if it had been for the spirited fight-back by one African who caused the thugs to run away.

These thugs, who are the unofficial defenders of the racist British state were no doubt inspired by the brutality of the Moss Side police who are the official defenders of that state.

Malik Sivam

● DHSS racists

The Bristol Evening Post of 13 October reports a case of a woman's Social Security payments being stopped because she could not speak English. Mrs Fatima Varachia, who has lived in England for 3 years, was considered to have 'no reasonable prospect of gainful employment unless she could communicate in English'. This blatant racist persecution opens the door for the DHSS refusing benefits to countless immigrant workers.

● Brixton raids cover-up

The revenge raid on 11 houses in Railton Road on 11 July was an attempt to hit back at the community who had driven the racists in uniform off the streets in Brixton. The pretext for the raid was a 'proven source' which informed the police that petrol bombs were stored in these houses. 176 policemen armed with batons and crowbars smashed their way through doors, windows, TVs and HiFi's in these 11 houses. They backed up by 391 of their thugs on standby. This search for petrol bombs was so 'thorough' that even lavatories in some houses were demolished. Structural damage in this dawn raid was £8,500 and personal property destroyed was worth much more.

The effort to cover up this attack involved an enquiry by Deputy Assistant Commissioner Dear. It was to report that Whitelaw referred when he said in parliament on 29 October 'I do not question the judgement of the police' and that 'the raid was in all circumstances justified and right'. Praise where praise is due or as Whitelaw could have said — you do the work and you get my full support.

Adrian Morgan



● Raid in Chapeltown

The above photograph shows Mrs Anderson indicating one of the windows smashed in by Chapeltown police during a police raid on her house involved no less than 176 police, 3 inspectors, 3 meat wagons, a dog van and CID cars. They used truncheons and riot shields in the raid. Mrs Anderson compares their behaviour to 'animals'. Three of the Andersons now face charges of 'assaulting the police' as a result of this raid. A family story. Also familiar is the name of PC Wray, one of the policemen involved in the raid. He, readers will remember, assaulted and arrested two of the Leeds 3 — who were themselves charged. He lied through his teeth and will no doubt do so in this case.

Alison Scott

● NUPE racism

NUPE protects its racist officials. These public service unions have a say in the hiring and firing of workers. Thus, there is scarcely a black dustman in London job coveted for its perks. When Russell Profitt, the only black Lewisham councillor, exposed the exclusion of black workers from council jobs by a NUPE branch secretary, the secretary, backed by his union leadership, issued a libel writ against Profitt. By using what is a common tactic of the filthy rich to hide their corrupt dealings NUPE has shown that it has plenty to be ashamed about. NUPE draws many of its members from among black people who work in low-paid, shit-work jobs. Their money is being used by the racist leadership to try and stifle black peoples' discussion of their rights. Unemployment rose by 80% in Lewisham last year and for black people it more than doubled. NUPE will not be lost on these people that their enemy is not just the rich and their state, but union bosses that carry out its bidding.

Trevor Rayne

THE CND AND WORLD PEACE

As imperialism plunges deeper into crisis, its barbaric nature comes to the fore. As economies decline and unemployment and poverty mount, the only real growth in the imperialist countries is in military budgets. While schools, hospitals and jobs are cut, the British imperialists splash out £5000m on new missiles, and US imperialism plans to spend \$1½ billion in the next five years on arms in a desperate bid to dominate the world.

The massive imperialist war preparations have not however gone unchallenged. Hundreds of thousands have demonstrated on the streets of Europe's capitals. Thousands of working class youth who witness the increasing repression and mounting poverty of the working class support the CND as a means of expressing their desire for peace. The leaders, organisers and propagandists of the CND however, and their supporters in the SWP, IMG and CPGB are not in the least interested in building a peace movement.

On 24 October 250,000 people marched through the streets of London to oppose the threat of nuclear war. The slogans and speeches of the CND's middle class organisers and leaders showed that they wanted peace only for themselves. They called for an end to the international arms race – but not for an end to police terror in Britain. They called for the withdrawal of American bases from Britain – but not for the withdrawal of British troops from Ireland. They said no to SS20s – but did not call for an end to attacks on the socialist countries. They said no to the neutron bomb but remained silent on CS gas and plastic bullets.

The CND leadership and their supporters fear nuclear weapons because these threaten to upset the narrow, philistine and comfortable existence of the middle classes. They are indifferent to the imperi-

alist weaponry directed against the working class and the oppressed nations – these weapons do not threaten them. The CND is not a peace movement, it is a save-the-middle-class movement.

Every day people are being killed in war – not nuclear war, but conventional war waged by imperialism – the CND is silent on these wars. Bobby Sands and his comrades were not killed by The Bomb, but murdered by British imperialism. David Moore was hit by a police van, not a rocket. Winston Rose, Barry Prosser and many others have been killed – not by nuclear fallout, but from being beaten to death by the hired thugs of British imperialism.

True peace for the overwhelming majority of humanity crushed under the heel of imperialist oppression can be won only by the destruction of imperialism. But this is as far as can be from the minds of the CND. While CND propagandists prattle on about the terrible horror in store if nuclear war breaks out in the future, they are silent or lie about the horrors being perpetrated by imperialism against the oppressed peoples of Ireland, El Salvador, South Africa, Palestine and elsewhere. Indeed in their campaign, they are ready to embrace the assistance of such rabid imperialist reactionaries as Lord Louis Mountbatten, whose speech against nuclear weapons they quote endlessly. Yet this man



was responsible for the deaths of literally millions of Soviet citizens, Vietnamese, Indonesian and Indian people!

The CND's most famous leader, Mr E P Thompson is an open friend of imperialism and has viciously attacked the forces fighting the very imperialist system which is responsible for war and the threat of nuclear war. He denounces the Provisional IRA as:

'...an absolute degeneration from the earlier civil rights movement...'

and derides the idea that 'British imperialism' (which he clearly believes to be a myth) is responsible for Irish oppression. While attacking the Irish liberation struggle he gushes with support for the racist British police:

'...the functions of the police are as necessary and legitimate as those of firemen and of ambulance men; and these legitimate functions include...enforcing the law and protecting citizens against offenders...the police are a section of the working class...a wholly indiscriminate attitude of "bash the fuzz" is...counter-productive...the police are entitled to expect...some assistance from citizens in their legitimate business.'

This was written only a few months after British police had killed Blair Peach and maimed and injured hundreds of black people and arrested one thousand in Southall!

Communists are totally opposed to the imperialist nuclear build up, but they are also opposed to all imperialist wars, to all wars of oppression. Communists stand for peace, but as Che Guevara said:

'...peaceful co-existence among nations does not encompass co-existence between exploiters and exploited, the oppressor and the oppressed.'



For hundreds of millions of people exploited by imperialism in El Salvador, South Africa, Palestine, Miami, Belfast and Brixton there is no choice between war and peace. To have peace, simply to survive, they must wage revolutionary war against imperialism. The socialist countries, who ever since the 1917 October Revolution in Russia, have been subject to endless imperialist plots and aggression, have no choice but to defend themselves. Recently, Richard Pipes, a leading member of the US Government said:

'The Soviet leaders will have to choose between peacefully changing their communist system in the direction followed by the West, or going to war.'

This is where the threat of nuclear war comes from.

The only way that the threat of nuclear war can be ended is by the ending of imperialist aggression and war against the oppressed nations and socialist countries. And this can only be achieved by the destruction of imperialism. As Lenin pointed out:

'...the propertied classes are striving for nothing but annexations, conquest and domination...in the epoch of imperialism wars are inevitable...imperialism threatens the world with a series of wars, unless the proletariat musters enough strength to put an end to the capitalist system by the final overthrow of capitalism.'

Those who are serious about ending the nuclear threat (and not just in saving their own skin), who really want peace (for everyone and not just for themselves) will turn their backs on the middle class pro-imperialist leaders of the CND and join the oppressed in their fight to destroy imperialism and thus bring about lasting peace. This means giving full support to the ANC, to SWAPO, to the FMLN, to the Irish Republican Movement, to the insurgent youth of Britain. Anything less means hastening the advent of the barbarism imperialism is preparing.

Steven Palmer

If you want peace- FIGHT IMPERIALISM!

Fight Racism! Fight Imperialism!
Supporters organised their own
revolutionary intervention at the 250,000
strong CND demonstration on Saturday 24
October.

With the aim of winning the working class supporters of the CND to a genuine stand for peace, FRFI carried a large banner declaring If you want peace Fight Imperialism! Victory to the Irish People, ANC and SWAPO! FRFI sellers and supporters spread amongst the huge crowds to explain the communist standpoint on the question of peace. The response of the working class youth on the demonstration was overwhelmingly positive. At an open air rally in Hyde Park FRFI supporters using loudhailers spoke to hundreds of people explaining that real peace can be achieved only by support for national liberation movements and the destruction of imperialism. A black comrade came out of the crowds and gave a powerful revolutionary speech lasting over half an hour. Other speakers denounced EP Thompson, famous as a CND leader, but whose anti-Irish stand is concealed from the mass of people. Tony Benn, and Michael Foot were also denounced for their hypocritical proclamation against war whilst they themselves had been responsible for waging war against Irish and black people. At the end of the day over 1200 Fight Racism! Fight Imperialism! had been sold, nearly £100 donated to our fund and many individuals gave their names to FRFI sellers in order to be contacted for future FRFI activities.



From Fidel Castro's speech at the 25th Anniversary Commemoration of the Moncada attack, August 6 1978.

Since realities cannot be overlooked, it must be said that humanity faces serious problems today. First of all, there is the vital matter of overcoming the risks of nuclear warfare. In other eras, men settled their political conflicts by using stone axes, lances, bows and arrows, swords, cannon, and even planes, warships, and tanks. However, no other era in history has had such deadly weapons of mass destruction as those that exist today. What might have been called irresponsible ambition yesterday – something the privileged classes could be party to in defence of their interests and their aims to carve up the world and wipe out the advance of progressive ideas, as was true of World War II – becomes universal suicide and a crime against humanity today, with modern, sophisticated means of mass destruction. It remains to be seen whether humanity will be able to survive the diabolical weapons it has produced.

If we make a basic analysis of realities, we will see that humanity's political and social advancement as a whole falls short of its capacity for destruction and extermination. The progressive and revolutionary forces are not the ones that have created this dreadful and

dangerous situation. Vladimir Ilyich Lenin launched the slogan of peace and coexistence among all nations at the time of the birth of the first socialist state. (Applause) Socialism, whose basic economic objective is the development of the productive forces and the equitable distribution of the fruits of labour, has absolutely no need for wars, for carving up the world, or for an arms build up. The planned development of the economy and basic human requirements in no way necessitate the investment of infinite human and material resources in a sterile arms race. The first socialist state did not declare war on nations with different social systems; the imperialist powers were the ones that decided to use intervention and blockade to do away with the first workers' and peasants' state and, at the same time, crush the revolutionary movement throughout the world. This policy produced fascism and World War II. The crusade against the Soviet Union waged by Hitler's Germany, armed with the collaboration of the other imperialist powers, cost the first socialist state the lives of 20 million of its finest sons and daughters. The peoples of the imperialist countries also had to pay a high price for their governments' rash anti-communist, pro-fascist adventurism.

Can anyone deny these historic truths? Can anyone hide the fact that the capitalist countries were basically responsible for the outbreak of that war? Who can forget that it was socialism that kept fascism from gaining control of the world? What country but the United States, virtually replacing Hitler's Germany, started a crusade of anti-communism and counter-revolution in the world? What other country is a real threat to world peace? Who practises a policy of force? Who has spread military bases all over the world? Who promotes the arms race? Who needs the military industry to handle internal economic problems and satisfy powerful monopoly interests?

Those who blame the socialist countries for their defence programmes forget the lesson of fascism and the

historic truth that it is imperialism, through its aggression, blockades, and threats, that has forced our countries to invest considerable resources in military expenses completely foreign to the needs and objectives of the socialist system. (Applause) As a principle we Marxist-Leninists know that social change cannot be imposed from abroad; nor can it be prevented when the people decide to obtain it by any means necessary. The socialist peoples do not try to export revolution. No one exported socialism to the Soviet Union, and no one exported socialism to Cuba. Since the birth of socialism, only the imperialist countries have tried to export their system – capitalism, reaction, counter-revolution and fascism.

What interest can humanity have in the arms race? Why waste on arms what people need in food, housing, health care, education, and recreation? Each year, hundreds of billions of dollars are spent on military hardware. Mountains of deadly weapons are stockpiled every year before the horrified eyes of the world with mountains of problems: underdevelopment, hunger, excessive population growth, unemployment, disease, and environmental pollution.

It is clear that there is only one final solution for this tragedy: humanity must go beyond its capitalist and imperialist phase, and social justice and cooperation must be developed on a world scale. But this is a task for the people of each country.

Humanity must be preserved for a better future. A pessimistic position concerning the need for and possibility of peace, such as that held by those who predict the inevitability of war – and even encourage it, perhaps believing they will be the only survivors, is inadmissible and absolutely irresponsible.

The peoples have the duty to struggle for peace and at the same time, for social change. Will we let threats intimidate us? No, because we are optimists and because we know, as Karl Marx taught us, that the oppressed have nothing to lose but their chains. (Applause)

NOTES & COMMENTS

■ Leyland workers defeated

After more than five years of redundancies, speed-up and wage cuts, Leyland workers went on strike against yet another attempt to reduce their standard of living. Only to suffer a humiliating defeat. They rejected the initial offer of 3.8%, showed in the short strike their ability and determination to conduct effective picketing, yet settled for an offer which effectively is no better than the original 3.8%. In their efforts to defend themselves against the Leyland management, led by reactionary white South African Edwardes, they found themselves confronted by their own leadership.

Terry Duffy spoke for the leadership when he declared that he was 'backing England' – a polite expression for British imperialism. Boyd (AUEW), Duffy (AUEW), Kitson (TGWU) and Murray (TUC) acted as one with the Leyland management and the Thatcher government to defeat the Leyland workers. Once again the representatives, left and right, of the labour aristocracy demonstrated that their function is to police the working class on behalf of the ruling class. Far from organising defence of the Leyland workers these leaders pleaded with Edwardes to give them an 'offer' to cover their surrender to his threats.

In any struggle between the working class and oppressed and the British imperialist state these leaders will always stand with the ruling class against the working class. They have proven this again and again not only in five years of treachery at Leyland.

Terry Duffy: attempted, alongside Bill Sirs, to go to South Africa to give aid and succour to the racist apartheid regime.

Alex Kitson: helped to produce the hypocritical anti-Irish policy statement of the Labour Party denying the Irish people's right to self-determination. At Labour Party conferences he has denounced calls for immediate troop withdrawal whilst heaping abuse on the armed struggle.

Len Murray: intervened in this year's annual conference of Trades Councils to oppose a motion defending Irish POWs on hunger strike for political status.

All four stood together in condemning the rebellion of black and white working class youth throughout Britain this summer. All four stood together in aiding the Thatcher government in murdering ten Irish POWs during the hunger strike. It is no wonder that all four stood together in crushing the struggle of the Leyland workers.

The fact is that these leaders are no more capable of defending the interests of Leyland workers than they are of defending the interests of the Irish people or black workers in Britain. The fact is that in order to defend themselves Leyland workers must learn from the revolutionary experience of the most oppressed – the Irish people and black workers in Britain – who have shown the way in fighting to defend

the basic democratic rights and conditions of life of the working class and oppressed.

TM

■ Laurence Scott

On Wednesday 4 November two helicopters flew into the Laurence Scott factory in Manchester to seize motors and other parts needed in the construction of nuclear submarines. Masked men in military-style overalls carried out the operation. All police leave in Manchester was cancelled for the day to allow the police to protect the flying strikebreakers from the anger of the pickets.

Laurence Scott workers have been fighting a long battle against the closure of the factory. Their occupation of the factory was broken up by a squad of police and bailiffs. Since then they have picketed the factory to prevent the removal of machinery and parts. This has now been defeated by the helicopter raid.

The proposal to use helicopters to break pickets was first put forward in 1975 by ex-SAS officer Colonel David Stirling. Now his plan has been put into effect by an alliance of management, state, police and, no doubt, 'freelance' reactionaries, effectively abolishing the right to picket. The Laurence Scott helicopter raid is undoubtedly a taste of what is to come for trade unionists fighting to defend their jobs.

Messages of support etc should be sent to: G Fryer, 20 Round Croft, Romiley, Cheshire. TM

■ NCP scabs on hunger strikers

When the hunger strike for political status began, RCG members and FRCI supporters set up the South London Hunger Strike Action Committee. Among those who responded were four members of the New Communist Party. Their participation was welcomed.

However it soon became clear that their support for the hunger strikers was not shared by the leadership of the NCP. They were being pressurised by the NCP leadership to withdraw from the committee. This at a time when in its newspaper the New Worker, the NCP was making a hypocritical show of supporting the hunger strikers. Finally the SLHSC received a letter withdrawing the support of the four comrades from the committee.

This letter, alongside the public refusal of the NCP to give any significant support to the hunger strike campaign, destroys the NCP's claims to support the Irish people's struggle. The NCP leadership deliberately sabotaged the effort to build local support in South London. Far from supporting the hunger strikers it ordered its members, who wanted to put all the fine words into deeds, not to support SLHSC on the spurious and sectarian grounds that the RCG and FRCI are 'Trotskyites'. This does not, however, prevent the NCP from working hand in glove

with the real Trotskyists in the CND for example.

To those members of the NCP who want to see a real movement in support of the Irish people we say: You have to leave the NCP to build that movement!

■ Oman

Oman under the Sandhurst trained Sultan Qaboos Bin Said is rapidly becoming a vital imperialist outpost, or in the words of the *Financial Times*, 'the West's most effective military ally in the Arabian Peninsula'. Sultan Qaboos Bin Said is an imperialist puppet. Between 1976-80, 43.5% of Government expenditure was on defence. Despite having a population of only 850,000 Oman has an army of 20,000. The Chief of Defence Staff is the British General Creasy and the Omani army, navy and air force have British commanders and are staffed by hundreds of British officers. US imperialism which freely uses Omani military facilities is planning to spend \$200m to upgrade or rebuild airfields, fuel depots and stores for military equipment. The Omani Minister of State for Foreign Affairs hopes the US will spend \$1-1.5bn on military facilities.

In the second week of November, the Omani forces, along with those of Egypt, Somalia and Sudan participated in the US organised 'Bright Star' coded military exercises. These were supposedly to demonstrate their capacity to respond to Soviet 'aggression'. In reality, the US and British imperialists are trying to construct an efficient and co-ordinated military force in the region to respond to the anti-imperialist movement sweeping through the Middle East.

■ Imperialist hypocrisy at Cancun Conference

The leaders of twenty-two nations representing two-thirds of the world's population met in a luxury holiday resort, Cancun, to discuss the widening gap between the world's rich and poor nations. Yet not one concrete proposal or practical idea to alleviate the wretched misery and hunger that the majority of the world's inhabitants are subjected to, was put forward.

This is really not surprising since it is the suffering and misery of the world's poor that is the basis of the prosperity of the world's rich.

The indebtedness of 150 developing nations is expected to reach \$150 billion by the end of 1981. Forced to sell their raw materials, cheap and unprocessed on the imperialist-controlled markets, the oppressed nations are denied the means of financing themselves. Interest charges will cost the Third World \$46 billion this year alone. These are the huge sums that the poor are forced to pay the rich for the 'honour' of having borrowed from their oppressors, so that they can build up an

infrastructure to allow the imperialists to plunder their nations more efficiently.

Clearly the Western nations have no interest in genuinely aiding the world's poor. Since it is by first creating this poverty and further intensifying it that the wealth of the Western nations is created. For the West to end poverty would be to cut off its lifeblood – world oppression.

Tony James

■ The Contempt of Court

The Appeal Court has made it clear – bourgeois democratic elections are a farce in Britain. The longer Lord Denning's reactionary life lingers on, the more and more single-minded he becomes in his insistence on upholding cherished ruling class principles. He firmly believes that Britain must remain a democracy for the rich, not – most certainly not! – for the poor. And if anyone still doubts that that is what we have they should look at the decision made by Denning and two fellow Lords.

They have made illegal the GLC's 'fares fair' policy of reduced and simplified public transport charges. The Labour Party won the GLC election in May 1981 with commitments, outlined in a manifesto, which included a 25% reduction in London Transport's fares. Lord Denning must hold the electorate of London in massive contempt:

'A manifesto issued by a political party in order to get votes,'

said the old reactionary

'was not to be regarded as gospel. It was not a covenant. When a party was returned to power it should consider what it was best to do, and what was practical and fair.'

Acting on this principle – that bourgeois elections are a farce based on lies – Denning and his cohorts have decided to overturn the local election of May 1981!

Lord Denning, was the man who, on 30 January 1980, stopped six Irish POWs framed for the Birmingham bombings from bringing actions for assault against the police. If successful in their action, he said, it would mean that the police 'were guilty of perjury... violence and threats' and this was an 'appalling vista'. Denning should be thanked for exposing the standpoint of the ruling class. When Irish POWs attempt to use the courts to expose the police he explains: the law is a charade to protect my class. When workers in London vote for lower public transport fares, he explains: you may vote for what you like but we'll decide whether you get it. Following on Thatcher's cynical change of electoral law to prevent Irish POWs being elected after the victory of Bobby Sands, this further lesson that elections in imperialist Britain are a farce should be learnt by all workers.

Tony Sheridan

IN BRIEFLY LATIN AMERICA

Chris Fraser

El Salvador

● Effective attack in El Salvador

On 15 October the military junta in El Salvador celebrated 2 years of repression and genocide, following their coup in 1979. The same day, the people's army, the FMLN, destroyed the country's most important bridge – Puenta de Oro – in an effective pre-dawn attack.

Now only one other bridge links the eastern third of the country with the rest of El Salvador. This attack leaves the FMLN in a position of military and political control of the Eastern provinces, which are rich in both cotton and sugar-cane. The economy has received a devastating blow and the junta's ability to rule is increasingly undermined. The FMLN are now set for a full-scale offensive.

● Junta on the run

The success of the FMLN can be gauged by the fact that casualties among the army in El Salvador's junta are now running at an annual rate of 10% killed or wounded. Despite massive US military aid to El Salvador, the junta's army cannot move around quickly enough. Casualties among the 'elite' deployment force are so high that recruits cannot remain for the full training from the US Green Berets, but must join forces on the front. The Green Berets sought to increase the mobility of the junta's army, but have now returned to the rear with the knowledge that an army which fights a risen people can never be moved enough, for the 'enemy' are everywhere.

Brazil

● Selling your eyes to make enemies meet: selling your blood for export

In Brazil people are offering to sell their kidneys and corneas whilst still alive. One man who advertised his cornea in a Brazilian newspaper said: 'It's very simple – on one side you have the man who has money but no vision, and on the other side is me: vision, but no money'. He hoped to use his £20,000 asking price for his sightless education and to secure his future as physically handicapped.

Meanwhile, blood is extracted under unhygienic conditions for £1.50 a pint from the unemployed and under-nourished. It is estimated that 75% of this blood is rejected and marketed in West Germany and the USA.

Imperialism not only reduces the people of an oppressed nation to permanent poverty, but like a leech it literally sucks the blood for its wealthy few.

Guatemala

● Guerilla attack

As previously reported, the anti-imperialist war in Guatemala now matches the scale and intensity of the struggle in El Salvador.

On 29 October 300 guerillas attacked police and army buildings in Guatemala's western provincial capital of Solola, killing the provincial police chief. They also attacked the province's Government Palace with bazooka and machine-guns, killing the local Governor – Colonel Carlos Rodas.

● Shamefaced Barclays

The anti-imperialist solidarity of the Caribbean people has forced this British bank to hide its true identity. Barclays has controlling interest in Barclays National, the largest bank in South Africa. Each year it grants hundreds of millions in loans to the South African and other blood-drenched reactionary regimes. For example in 1980 it gave \$250m to the South African Government, \$57m to Escom (South African State Electricity Supply Commission) and 270m rand to Richards Bay Coal Terminal. It also provides special facilities for the racist South African Army. In the face of the revulsion of the Trinidad and Tobago people, Barclays has gained government permission to change its name there to Republic Bank Ltd.

LEEDS 3 – HARSH SENTENCES

Only a matter of weeks after guilty verdicts were brought against 2 of the Leeds 3,



Dora Browne, the third, appeared at the magistrates court on a charge of using 'threatening behaviour with intent to provoke a breach of the peace'. She was harshly sentenced to two years probation. Dora Browne became a victim of the racist brutality of the Chapeltown police when Bill Bolloten and Gordon Teal were arrested while selling FRCI from door to door. Dora had simply gone to Chapeltown police station to enquire about their welfare. For this she was arrested and assaulted.

As expected, the police evidence was nothing but a pack of lies. Not only did the two police witnesses, Police Sergeants Wilson and Fray, cover up the assault on Dora, they even denied that PCs Barnes and Wray, who were present throughout, were there at all. Perhaps this had

something to do with the fact that it was PC Barnes and PC Wray who dragged Dora into the charge room and repeatedly assaulted her.

When defence barrister Courtnay Griffiths showed that Dora Browne could not have provoked a breach of the peace as there were no other members of the public present, Police Sergeants Wilson and Fray dutifully went to the lengths of inventing two middle-aged ladies who, they said, just happened to come into the police station when Dora was said to be swearing at the police, and just happened to walk out again without either stating their business or returning again!

Such barefaced lies were quite acceptable to the Leeds magistrates who did not hesitate to find the police case proven. When Dora Browne gave her evidence the

magistrate showed nothing but racist contempt. Even a doctor's report detailing the swellings and bruises Dora received at the hands of the police was ignored.

Dora Browne was sentenced to two years probation simply for visiting a police station to enquire about her friend. She also received a £50 fine after an incident in the city centre when she had gone to the assistance of black youths being attacked by fascists. The Leeds 3 Defence Campaign is continuing to appeal for donations to defend the right to sell FRCI in Chapeltown. Send money to Leeds 3 Defence Campaign, BCM Box 5909, London WC1N 3XX. Cheques and POs should be made payable to Leeds 3 Defence Campaign.

Jenefer Thomas

COMMUNIST TRADITION ON IRELAND PART EIGHT

THE RISE OF THE PROVISIONAL IRA

last Pogrom

troops, armed with sub-machine guns, the RUC and B-Specials immediately entered the Bogside. Negotiations between the Civil Rights Defence Association and the British government agreed that British troops would not enter the Bogside, and that the RUC and B-Specials would be kept behind their lines. In the nationalist people had won. In other years, battles still raged.

A man was killed by a high velocity bullet when B-Specials opened fire into a crowd at a civil rights meeting in Armagh. Others in the crowd were wounded. Shots were also fired in Divis Flats where again B-Specials fired into a crowd wounding two men and a girl. 8,500 had, in fact, been mobilised throughout the week, with the agreement of the Northern Ireland Secretary James Callaghan.

British troops entered Derry on 14 August, the day before the Belfast pogrom were about to begin. The evening before had already given some hints. A meeting called by the Civil Rights Association took place in the courtyard of Divis Flats block of flats on the nationalist side of the city. The meeting was called in response to the demand by Derry 'to take the heat off the Bogside' and against the RUC. About 200 people attended. The meeting decided to hand a petition to the RUC headquarters in Springfield Road, in protest at the RUC brutality in Derry. The RUC commander, Cushing, although in the building, accepted the petition saying that the local head of the RUC had been temporarily transferred to another Hastings Street right back down Divis Flats. They proceeded to leave the building to go to the station. With this development, the crowd grew and a few skirmishes took place and houses were smashed. The Civil Rights protesters ran to Hastings Street and the police station and later some petrol bombs were thrown. That was done.

British troops ordered out Shorland armoured cars driven to confront the crowd, many of whom fled into the surrounding streets. A group of protesters, outraged by the RUC who had driven armoured cars upon them, went back to the Springfield Road Police Station and attacked it with petrol bombs. The RUC fired shots at them and two youths were injured. A few shots were fired by a couple of the demonstrators who were on the station roof opened up with machine gun fire and scattered the crowd. No-one was killed.

There was nothing in view of what was yet to happen next day, the Shorland armoured cars returned to the streets, this time, mounted with machine guns, the Browning 0.30 inch machine gun has a range of almost two-and-a-half miles and fires six to eight high-velocity bullets a second. It only fires bursts, never single shots. It had been years the standard machine gun for the British army. It was now to be used, with devastating effect, by a sectarian police force on the streets of Belfast.

After the previous night's events, the news at 3pm that the hated loyalist B-Specials were to be led to barricades going up at strategic points on the nationalist Falls Road. Hundreds of nationalists were prepared to defend the nationalist area. At 0.30pm, barely a street in the area was left unoccupied and thousands of people assembled behind walls in the nationalist areas. The RUC once again used Shorland armoured cars. This time, they were prepared to defend the nationalist area.

On the Shankill Road, crowds of Loyalists mingled with hundreds of B-Specials armed with rifles, machine guns and sub-machine guns. At about 10.30pm, nationalist civilians wearing white arm bands

began moving down the Shankill Road and into streets intersecting with the Falls Road. Other groups headed north for the isolated nationalist area of the Ardoe.

The attacking loyalist mobs were well-organised and well-equipped with petrol bombs. They moved into the 'mixed' streets between the Falls Road and Shankill Road – Percy Street and Dover Street. Hundreds of stones and petrol bombs were thrown and as the Loyalists came on they tossed petrol bombs into the Catholic homes on their way. The RUC stood behind them and looked on. By midnight, both streets were ablaze.

The Loyalists came on and shots were fired from Dover Street at the retreating nationalists. Three men in a crowd of nationalists lined across Divis Street fell under a hail of bullets. Eventually, the Loyalists broke through into Divis Street planting a Union Jack there.

Some IRA men with a few weapons, including one Thompson sub-machine gun, attempted to hold back the loyalist attackers, firing from the vicinity of Divis Flats. A Loyalist, Herbert Roy, was killed. Others were injured. At this moment, RUC armoured cars appeared on the scene and randomly fired bursts of Browning machine-gun fire into the nationalist Divis Flats. Trooper Herbert McCabe, a young British soldier on leave was on his balcony and was killed instantly. Four high velocity bullets pierced two walls before entering nine-year-old Patrick Rooney's bedroom and blowing half his head away. Thirteen flats were badly damaged.

In the Ardoe, the loyalist attacks were even fiercer. There, the RUC, B-Specials and loyalist mobs burnt down three nationalist streets. The RUC, during the battles that raged, opened fire with sub-machine guns and one Catholic, 50-year-old Samuel McLarnon, was shot while pulling down a blind at a window of his home. Another man, Michael Lynch, was killed by the same machine-gun fire. Over 20 people were wounded.

The death toll for the night of 14-15 August was six. Hundreds were injured. A scene of utter devastation lay around Divis Street and the Ardoe. Around 150 Catholic homes had been burnt out in Belfast and Catholics from houses still unburnt in the 'mixed' streets were evacuated the next day. Over a thousand families were to leave their homes. Their houses were promptly occupied by Loyalists. Thousands of Catholics became refugees taking trains to the Republic.

Events had now gone too far for the Stormont Cabinet. It doubted the ability of the RUC to take another night of serious confrontation. The British army had to be called in. A formal request for further troops for use in Belfast came from the Stormont Cabinet at 12.25pm that day and it was given immediate approval by Callaghan. Just after 5pm on Friday 15 August, about 600 troops moved into the area around the now well barricaded Falls Road.

While the troops were taking up their positions, loyalist mobs were attacking a small nationalist enclave, the Clonard. It began after 3pm Friday afternoon. Very soon, fifteen-year-old Gerald McAuley was shot dead as he helped Catholic families evacuate their furniture in the Clonard. The Loyalists invaded the Clonard monastery grounds and were fired on and held off by two nationalist defenders of the area in the monastery. The Loyalists fired back. That evening an entire Catholic street, Bombay Street, was razed to the ground. It was after these events and later in the evening that British troops went into the Clonard area. However, they didn't go into the Ardoe.

In the Ardoe, another pitched battle took place this time between the nationalist defenders of the area and the Loyalists and the RUC. A Catholic street was burnt out – 23 Catholic homes were destroyed. British troops were to enter the Ardoe the next day, Saturday 16 August. Within a week, up to 6,000 troops were available to be deployed.

The Split in the IRA

At a press conference at Stormont on Sunday 17 August, Chichester-Clark reiterated statements he had been making earlier in the week: the real cause of the 'disorder' was to be found in the activities of extreme Republican elements – meaning the IRA – and 'others determined to overthrow our State'. Nothing could have been further from the truth. In fact, when the all-out attack on the nationalist areas took place, the IRA neither had the organisation nor the weapons to carry out an effective defence of those under siege.

'...when the inevitable happened in Belfast's beleaguered nationalist ghettos on August 14, 1969, the victims to their horror found themselves without protection from the one source they hitherto trusted – the Irish Republican Army. When the people sought the weapons they needed to defend themselves, these weapons were not available, apart from a few old guns which were quickly put to use and at least saved an even greater massacre.' (Provisional IRA, 1973)

Slogans such as IRA = I RAN AWAY appeared on the walls of Belfast. They were, as Mac Stiofain justifiably argues, grossly unfair to those local units in Belfast who had to take the brunt of the attacks with next to no resources. Nevertheless, they were one expression of the bitterness felt in the nationalist areas at the failure of the IRA to mount an effective defence of their areas. It was this state of affairs which was to intensify the divisions already existing in the IRA (see FRCI 12) and lead to a split in the Republican movement.

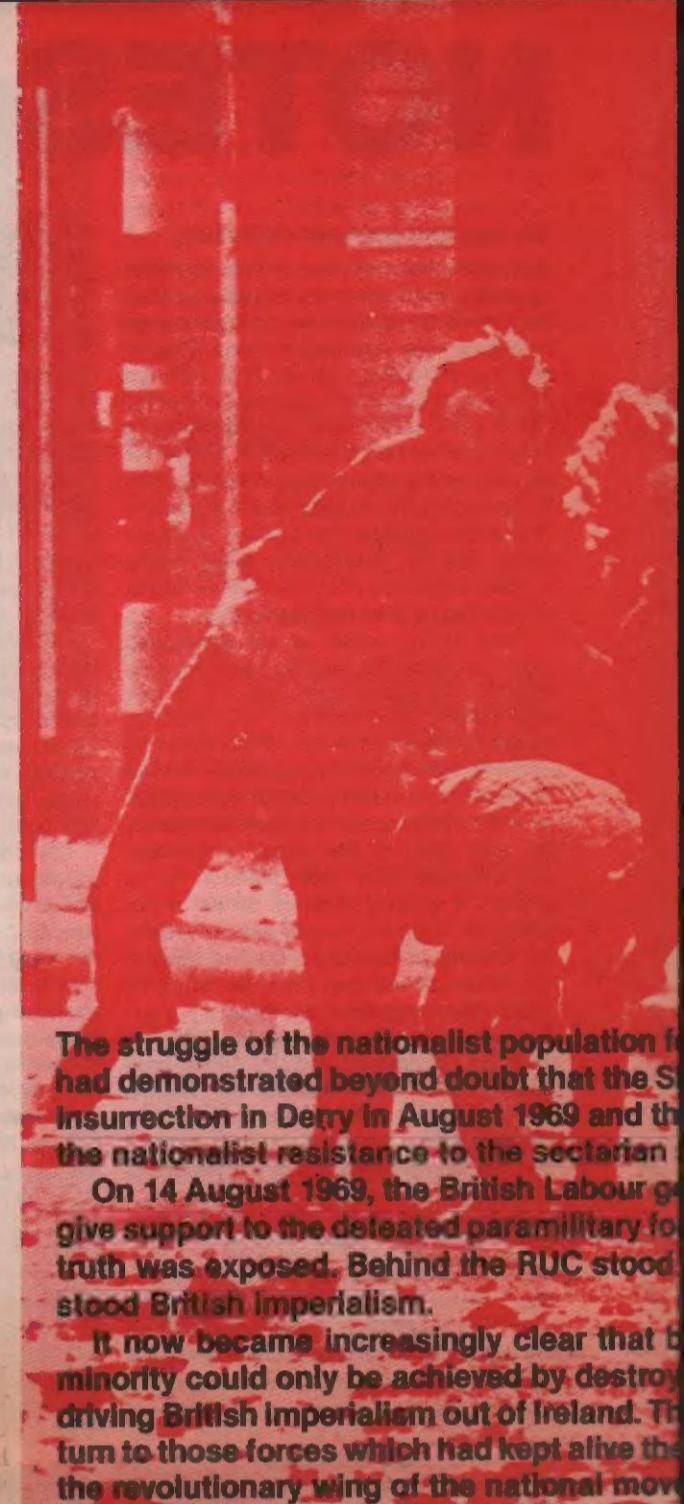
The state of the IRA throughout the Six Counties was a direct consequence of the policies pursued by the revisionist leadership of the Republican Movement after the defeat of the 1956-62 Border Campaign. This leadership had pushed the national question into the background. They concentrated on what they called 'social and economic' agitation almost to the exclusion of the military struggle to reunite Ireland (see FRCI 12). It was their political leadership that left the IRA totally unprepared to defend the nationalist minority in the Six Counties as the Civil Rights Movement was forced into confrontation with the paramilitary defenders of loyalist privilege in the loyalist state.

Sean Mac Stiofain, later to be Chief of Staff of the Provisional IRA, and many other Republicans based in the Six Counties, time and again warned the Republican leadership of the dangerous situation that was developing with the growing Civil Rights Campaign. As Mac Stiofain later wrote

'I and others in Republican circles saw that the civil rights strategy and the Unionists' puzzled and threatening reaction to it could lead to a very dangerous situation. Therefore, it was more than ever essential to maintain the IRA at as high a standard of military efficiency as possible...'

Demanding an increase in active training, I pressed the point that some of our own members had helped to initiate the new weapon of mass civil rights protest in the North. The least we expected of the IRA was that it would be ready to meet the dangers that this development might bring about.'

But the revisionist leadership of the Republican Movement, by various manoeuvres, such as increasing the size of the Army Council and packing it with their own supporters, were able to vote down all proposals to organise armed defence of the nationalist areas in the Six Counties. The degree of bankruptcy of the leadership of the Republican Movement at that time, and an indicator of the future direction those supporting that leadership would take, is well illustrated in the response to Mac Stiofain's proposals by one member of the Army Council who argued that the British army would have to protect people in the North from the excesses of the RUC!



The struggle of the nationalist population for its rights had demonstrated beyond doubt that the Six Counties Insurrection in Derry in August 1969 and the nationalist resistance to the sectarian attacks.

On 14 August 1969, the British Labour government gave support to the defeated paramilitary forces. The truth was exposed. Behind the RUC stood British imperialism.

It now became increasingly clear that the minority could only be achieved by destroying British imperialism out of Ireland. The turn to those forces which had kept alive the revolutionary wing of the national movement.

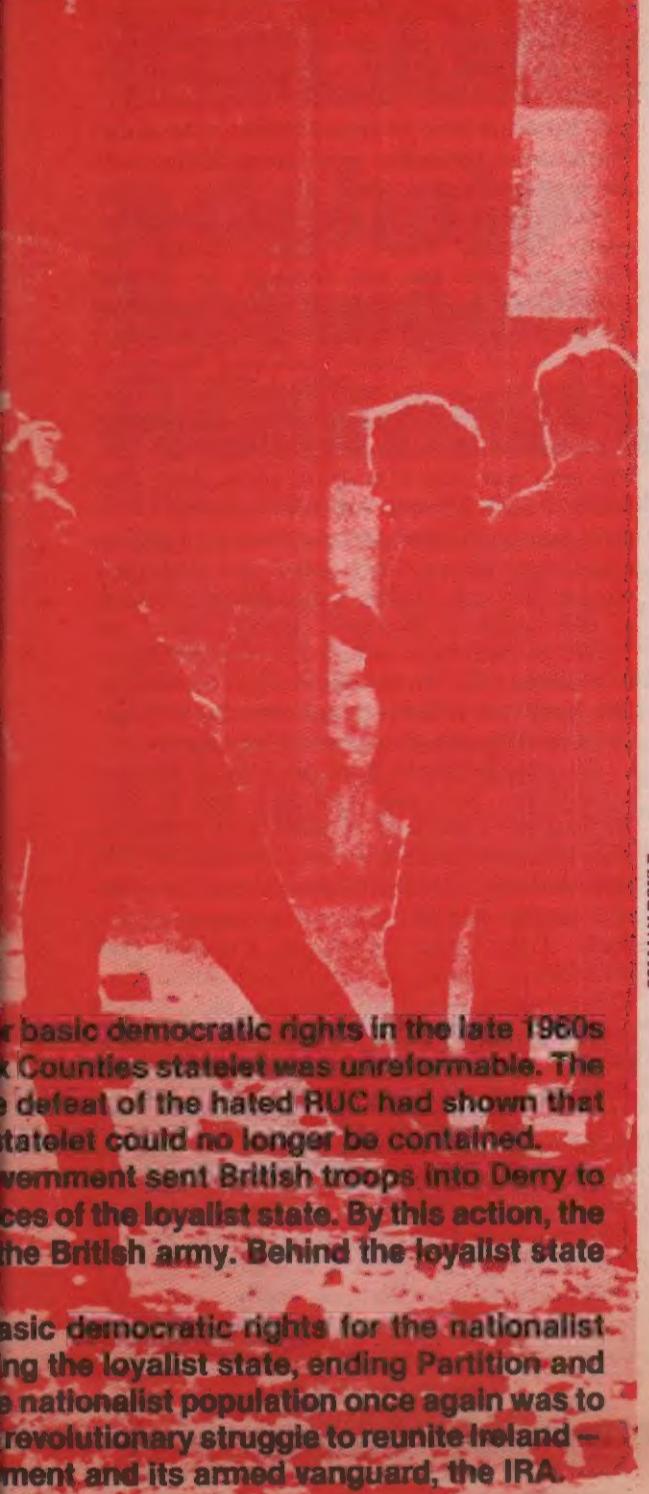
After the August events, the revolutionary nationalists in the Republican Movement began to organise. The entire country was combed for arms, and arms dumps in the South were emptied and distributed to the IRA throughout the Six Counties. By September 1969, the Belfast Brigade Staff of the IRA was reorganised. Additional members opposed to the revisionist leadership were co-opted onto the Belfast command. At the same time, the Belfast Brigade decided to have nothing more to do with the Dublin leadership. The showdown was being prepared.

It came to a head at an extraordinary Army Convention in the middle of December 1969. The revisionist leadership had packed the Convention with its own supporters. Before the Convention were two crucial resolutions. The first was that the IRA should enter into a National Liberation Front (NLF) with organisations of the so-called 'communist' and 'socialist' left. In particular, with those groups which had helped to formulate the revisionist standpoint of the present leadership of the Republican Movement. The second resolution was that the Republican Movement should end its policy of abstentionism from the Westminster, Dublin and Stormont parliaments. The latter proposal for many delegates had the merit of being a clear-cut issue. In the words of Sean Mac Stiofain, Republicans would now have to choose between accepting the institutions of partition or upholding the basic Republican principle of Ireland's right to national unity. The Convention voted to end the traditional policy of abstentionism. At the end of the Convention, those opposed to this position went to a pre-arranged meeting-place and set into motion the necessary steps that would very soon lead to the formation of the Provisional IRA.

The new grouping quickly won nine of the thirteen Belfast units of the IRA to its ranks. At a special Convention held before Christmas 1969, a Provisional Army Executive and Provisional Army Council were elected – the Provisional IRA was born. It immediately repudiated the revisionist proposals passed at the extraordinary Army Convention. Its first public statement was put out on 22 December 1969. It declared

'allegiance to the Thirty-Two County Irish Republic proclaimed at Easter 1916, established by the first Dail Eireann in 1919, overthrown by force of arms in 1922, and suppressed to this day by the British-imposed Six County and Twenty-Six County partitionist states'.

It argued that the compromising policy of the revisionist leadership of the Republican Movement was



Rights Movement they were prepared to supply arms for defence of nationalist areas on condition that a separate Northern command of the IRA was set up and political agitation in the South was given up. A group of businessmen with close relations to the Fianna Fail ministers Blaney, Haughey and Boland were prepared to finance the venture. This was reported to the Dublin HQ of the IRA and although some negotiations took place, they were interrupted by the eruption of the crisis in the Six Counties. Attempts were later made by the NLF (Official IRA) to attribute the formation of the Provisons to Fianna Fail finance. There was no truth in this.

On Wednesday 13 August at 11am, when Lynch's Cabinet met, Blaney and Boland, supported by Haughey, called for intervention in the Six Counties by the Irish army. Lynch supported by the majority of the Cabinet totally rejected this. Compromise was reached. The government ordered the Irish army to the Border and set up army field hospitals at various crossing points for use by those wounded in the North who would face possible arrest in Six Counties hospitals.

Lynch went on television that evening and made a very strong statement. It included the following:

'The Stormont Government evidently is no longer in control of the situation, which is the inevitable outcome of policies pursued for decades by them. The Government of Ireland can no longer stand by.'

It is obvious that the RUC is no longer accepted as an impartial police force.

The employment of British troops is unacceptable and not likely to restore peaceful conditions.'

Lynch went on to call for a UN peace-keeping force for the Six Counties and said that the Irish army had established field hospitals on the Border. He concluded:

'Recognising that the re-unification of Ireland provides the only permanent solution to the problem, the Government have made a formal request to the British government to enter into early negotiation to review the present constitutional position of the Six Counties...'

The speech cruelly raised false hopes for a while among the beleaguered nationalists in the Six Counties. It also enraged the Loyalists. Lynch, however, did not intend to do anything. He knew he had to make some gesture to control the growing anger throughout the 26 Counties against the loyalist attacks on the nationalist minority in the Six Counties. He, just like the British government, was not prepared to let the events in the Six Counties spill over and destabilise the government in the 26 Counties. He was prepared, when the situation called for it, to give a militant sounding speech calling for the re-unification of Ireland, but was totally opposed to ending Partition in the only way possible - by revolutionary means. He made this clear when, after the terror of the Belfast pogrom, a demonstration against the British Embassy in Dublin on 16 August was beaten charged by the Gardai and over 50 people were injured. He reinforced this on 19 August when, after a statement by Cathal Goulding, Chief of Staff of the IRA, saying that volunteers had been active in the Bogside and other parts of the Six Counties, Lynch declared that his Government would not tolerate 'usurpation of their power by any group whatsoever'. He also condemned what he called 'the wanton destruction of property and looting and the lawless behaviour by a small minority which has taken place in Dublin and elsewhere in recent days'.

Blaney, Haughey and Boland had not resigned when Lynch rejected the call for intervention by the Irish army in the Six Counties, nor did they attempt to make a public issue of it. They were more concerned to challenge Jack Lynch's position as Taoiseach by outmanoeuvring him on the Republican issue.

As part of the compromise, the Cabinet agreed to set up a sub-committee to deal with the Six Counties. It also created a Northern 'relief' fund of £100,000 out of government funds. Officially, this money could not be used to send arms to the Six Counties as this would lead to a direct conflict with the British government. However, it came out, after British intelligence had tipped off the Fine Gael opposition party, that a large amount had been used in this way. In May 1970, Lynch dismissed Blaney and Haughey after revelations about their involvement in illegally imported arms, valued at over £30,000, which had been recently seized. Boland resigned in protest. Blaney, Haughey and the others involved including Captain James Kelly, an Irish army intelligence officer, were tried for illegal arms deals in September/October 1970 and were acquitted. Their defence had been that the arms importation had the sanction of the government. However, the major outcome of this debacle was that

Lynch, in spite of everything, emerged stronger and was now free of his main rivals, without even confronting anything like a party split.

British imperialism intervenes

There can be no doubt that when the Six Counties erupted, it was the intention of Callaghan and Wilson only to send troops into Derry. In Derry, the RUC had been prevented from invading the Bogside, and they were a defeated and exhausted force when the British army was sent in to contain the growing insurrection. In Callaghan's own words

'(The troops') immediate orders were to relieve the exhausted police and prevent riots breaking out in the centre of Londonderry'.

In fact, what shocked the Labour-imperialist Callaghan most was not the sectarian violence of the RUC but its inability to put down the nationalist revolt. In Callaghan's view, the RUC should have carried out an 'invasion' of the Bogside 'by tackling the rioters from the rear'. It failed to do this so the British army had to be called in. It was only *after* the insurrection in Derry had been contained that the Labour government found the additional troops to send into Belfast to control the dangerous situation developing there.

The role of the British army in the Six Counties was quite unambiguous. Its task was to prevent a full-scale insurrection developing which would inevitably spill over into the 26 Counties and once again raise the national question throughout Ireland. In Derry, where the nationalists were in a majority, this meant replacing the defeated RUC to contain the nationalist revolt. In Belfast, where the nationalists were a minority, it was to prevent the loyalist pogrom against the nationalist minority developing to civil war proportions. It was not a concern on the part of British imperialism to prevent Catholics being butchered and driven out of their homes by loyalist thugs. For British imperialism had not prevented previous Belfast pogroms in the 1920s and 1930s. And for nearly 50 years British governments, Labour and Tory alike, had allowed sectarian discrimination and loyalist repression free rein in order to put down any nationalist opposition to the loyalist state.

On sending troops into the Six Counties, the British government was forced initially to tread carefully. Their task was to restore stability to the loyalist state. To do this, they had to take into account the extent of the nationalist rebellion against the loyalist state, the growing pressure on the Dublin government to take some action, and the widespread international coverage of events in the Six Counties after the rise of the Civil Rights Movement.

At first, the response of sections of the nationalist minority to the entry of British troops was one of relief. It was understandable that an exhausted people, having faced days of savage attack from armed loyalist forces, should see the entry of British troops into the Six Counties as a new factor in the situation.

In Derry, the appearance of the troops was clear proof that the nationalists had won. The hated RUC and B-Specials had been kept out of the Bogside and the army had made no attempt to breach the barricades. Within 24 hours, a delegation from the Defence Association had told the Army Commander that no soldier would be permitted to come through the barricades until the police were disarmed, the B-Specials disbanded and the Special Powers Act and Stormont abolished.

In Belfast, the troops had to put a halt to the loyalist pogrom against the nationalist minority. Not to have done so would have meant civil war spreading throughout the Six Counties with serious consequences also for the stability of the 26 Counties state. Most of the Falls Road and Ardoyne were now behind barricades and the British army and the RUC kept outside. Conditions, put by the Defence Committee, for the barricades being removed were the same as those in Derry. Behind the barricades the IRA were bringing in arms to organise defence of the areas. Morale in the nationalist areas was high.

Together with the introduction of the troops went the necessity for reforms in order to take the steam out of the nationalist minority's rebellion. On 19 August, Chichester-Clark, Faulkner and Porter, the Home Affairs Minister, were summoned to Downing Street to see Wilson, Callaghan and Healey, the Minister for Defence. An agreement was reached that the police and B-Specials would be put under British army control with the B-Specials 'phased out' of riot control. Also the pace of reforms would have to be speeded up. A communiqué was issued, the Downing Street Declaration, which began by reaffirming the pledge that

'Northern Ireland should not cease to be a part of

the United Kingdom without the consent of the people of Northern Ireland... The border issue'.

It also included a statement, which, given the context, could only be regarded as vacuous:

'Every citizen of Northern Ireland is entitled to the same equality of treatment and freedom from discrimination as obtains in the rest of the United Kingdom, irrespective of political religion'.

However, it would appeal to those who wanted moderation. That night, Wilson said on television that the B-Specials would be phased out. The following day it was announced that Lord Hunt - chosen by Wilson to look into the whole structure of the police forces in the Six Counties. A few days later the Scarman Tribunal was set up to report on 'disorders' between April and August 1969.

Callaghan came to Belfast a week later and met the Stormont cabinet. Three working parties of Whitehall and Stormont Civil Servants, were set up to study ways of dealing with discrimination in housing and jobs and improving community relations. A permanent British government representative was to be sent over to keep an eye on developments. Callaghan also toured the battle areas of Belfast and Derry. He was given a friendly welcome by Catholics in the Falls and Bogside. For the appearance symbolised a political defeat of the Unionist Party.

On 12 September, the Cameron Commission was appointed by O'Neill in January 1969 - to inquire into the causes of the civil rights movement. While attacking 'extremists' on both sides, it confirmed and documented the existence of discrimination and gerrymandering against Catholics. It spoke of 'serious breaches of discipline and acts of violence' by the RUC and it described the B-Specials as a 'partisan and paramilitary force recruited mainly from Protestants'. It also spoke of a 'leadership on all sides' which had allowed the situation to build up and eventually to explode in violence.

All this talk of 'reform' and ending 'injustice' in these inquiries and reports, it should be remembered, came *after* the mass Civil Rights campaign, *after* the insurrection in Derry and *after* the near civil war in Belfast. British imperialism had made no effort to democratise the statelet in 50 years because it did not need to. It now took the steps it did in order to impose its will on the nationalist minority to the Six Counties *after* they had rebelled. It could not succeed in doing this because the loyalist statelet, the key to British domination of Ireland, could only exist as long as the Unionist alliance between the loyalist workers and capitalists remained. And that alliance was based on the privilege and conditions of the Protestant working class, which is, on the lack of civil rights and the discrimination against the nationalist minority, and with the repressive apparatus to enforce such conditions. Any real inroads into discrimination and introduce real reforms would threaten Unionism and the loyalist statelet and therefore British domination of Ireland. Inevitably, the Loyalists would fight such developments and British imperialism would turn to the British army to back them. The nationalist minority, in the words of Sean Mac Stiofáin, would quickly realise that a colonial power does not have an army to hurry up social reforms'.

The Road to revolutionary war

It is quite unacceptable to an imperialist power to have areas of its colony which are out of control. Nationalist areas in Belfast and Derry were controlled by the army, policed and controlled these areas. The IRA was organising defence areas and acquiring arms. One of the main tasks of the Labour government and the British army was to get these barricades taken down. It was not an easy task. Republicans and others had to immediately the troops had been sent in. The British army was not to be trusted and that is why the army could only rely on themselves to defend the area.

All the talk of 'reforms' and 'justice' was aimed to impress those waiting to be impressed, especially the so-called 'moderates' in the community. It was to them that the British army turned when the pressure was building up to remove the barricades down.

The first move came on 2 September when Sir John Freeland, Commander of the British forces in Northern Ireland, approached the Central Citizens' Committee (CCDC), Belfast, to ask for the removal of the barricades. The main personalities involved

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'the logical outcome of an obsession in recent years with parliamentary politics, with the consequent undermining of the basic military role of the Irish Republican Army'.

As ample evidence of this neglect it pointed to the failure to provide the maximum defence of the nationalist areas of the Six Counties 'against the forces of British imperialism'. It claimed allegiance of the majority of Army units, volunteers and Republicans generally.

On 10/11 January 1970, the Sinn Fein Ard Fheis (Conference) was held. Those supporting the principled Republican standpoint attempted to get the Ard Fheis to reject the NLF (Official IRA) proposals. On 11 January a marathon debate took place on the proposals to remove all restrictions on parliamentary participation. The revisionists failed, by 19 votes, to get the necessary two-thirds majority to alter the position. After a motion was put calling for a vote of allegiance to the Official Army Council, delegates supporting the Provisional Army Council withdrew from the hall to a pre-arranged meeting place where a Sinn Fein Caretaker Executive was formed. Its first act was to pledge allegiance to the All-Ireland Republic and give support to the Provisional Army Council. It was also agreed to publish a new Republican newspaper *An Phoblacht* (The Republic).

Representatives of (Provisional) Sinn Fein met the Executive of Cumann na mBan, the women's section of the Republican Movement. Just as it had unanimously opposed the partitionist Treaty of 1921, the Cumann na mBan Executive now unanimously decided to accept the authority of the Provisional Army Council. The split in the movement was complete.

The Provisional IRA was soon to become an effective modern guerilla army with growing support among the nationalist minority in the Six Counties. The conditions had at last again emerged in Ireland for a revolutionary national movement to win mass support for a renewed offensive against Partition and British imperialism.

Dublin government under pressure

The Dublin government came under immediate pressure as soon as the Six Counties erupted and the Battle of the Bogside began. Already in February 1969, not long after the savage attack on the Civil Rights marchers at Burntollet Bridge, an emissary from a group of Fianna Fail TDs had approached the commander of the IRA in South Derry with a proposition about arms. In view of the growing violence directed against the Civil

from previous page

iations were Jim Sullivan, a Republican leader in the Lower Falls and later to be a leader of the Official IRA, Paddy Devlin MP (NILP) and Tom Conaty, a Catholic businessman. The Committee refused because Freeland would not give a guarantee that the RUC would not be allowed back into the Falls Road area.

On 4 September, the army moved in at dawn and began to remove barricades from the nationalist Turf Lodge estate on the outskirts of Belfast. The residents were shocked and women formed a chain across the road to stop them. But the army succeeded.

On the 6 September, with the aid of the Lower Falls priest, Father Murphy, Jim Sullivan and Paddy Devlin, some barricades in the Falls Road area came down. On 8 September, under pressure from Loyalists claiming that General Freeland was discussing with the IRA, Chichester-Clark went on television and said that the barricades were an act of defiance and must come down in 24 hours. The moderate Catholics negotiating with the army were horrified by this speech. A delegation of leading personalities from the CCDC was put together to see Callaghan. An agreement was reached that the barricades would come down and that soldiers would be at the end of the streets to prevent loyalist attacks.

The delegation then tried to sell the agreement to the CCDC. There was a great deal of dissent led by Francis Card, Billy McKee and Leo Martin, later to emerge as leaders of the Provisional IRA. In the end, Father Murphy was forced to use the power of the Church to get the deal accepted. Dr Philbin, Bishop of Down and Connor, was brought in to persuade the community to take the barricades down. He was driven round the Falls Road area in an army Land Rover. By Wednesday morning, the barricades were down. Shortly afterwards, in Derry, a mass meeting at Free Derry Corner voted to breach the main barricade in Rossville Street. However, divisions and tension were building up within the nationalist community and hostility towards the army was beginning to grow.

On 10 October, the Hunt Report was published. It recommended the disarming of the RUC and the disbandment of the B-Specials. The RUC was to have a British Chief Officer – Sir Arthur Young – chosen because of his previous colonial experience. The report also recommended the establishment of a new, part-time military force, later called the Ulster Defence Regiment.

The following night, angry Loyalists came in their thousands down the Shankill Road and tried to attack the nationalist Unity Flats. They were halted by RUC cordon. Loyalist gunmen opened fire and killed an RUC man, Constable Arbuckle – the first one killed since 1962. The army claimed the rioters fired more than a 1,000 rounds from weapons which included a machine-gun and several sub-machine guns. The troops opened fire and killed two Loyalists and wounded many more. 22 soldiers were injured, 14 with gunshot wounds. The army riot squad moved into the Shankill Road beating up Loyalists, searching houses and capturing guns and ammunition. 68 people were arrested.

Sir Arthur Young saw his task as winning Catholic confidence in the police and, in particular, in getting the police back into the nationalist strongholds like the Falls and the Bogside. The RUC had not patrolled the Falls area for five years except in pairs of armed Land Rovers. The police had not entered the Bogside on foot for a number of years. On the day after the Shankill riots, Callaghan brought Young into the Bogside and introduced him to a cheering crowd. Military police came in, unarmed, to patrol the area. They were to do so for the next six months. The RUC made a formal return to the Falls Road Belfast on 17 October.

In this period, the British government believed that its main troubles were over and events had now taken an upward turn. Moderate Catholic opinion shared this optimism. But fundamentally, nothing had changed. The reforms that mattered so far were merely promises of reforms and would remain so. As one liberal journalist, Henry Kelly, put it

'Reform did not bring one new job to the North, it did not heighten the standard of living... it did absolutely nothing to give the working class Catholic any reason to feel identified with the system...'

The reforms that had gone through did nothing to alter the fundamental character of political power of the loyalist statelet. Within six months this reality would be exposed.

The signs that a new conflict would soon break out could already be seen, where it mattered; on the streets, in the working class nationalist areas of Belfast and Derry. McCann's description of the situation in the Bogside conveys the resentment building up there among the working class youth:

'Reforms had filtered through on to the statute book. An Ombudsman had been appointed. Derry Corporation had been abolished and replaced by a Development Commission. A points system for the allocation of houses was in operation. Moderate Unionists could, and often did, point proudly to this record of progress. None of it, however, made any difference to the clumps of unemployed teenagers who stood, fists dug deep in their pockets, around William Street in the evenings. Briefly elevated into folk-hero status in the heady days of August, praised and patronized by local leaders for their expertise with the stone and the petrol bomb, they had now been dragged back down into the anonymous depression which had hitherto been their constant condition. For them at least, nothing had changed and they were bitterly cynical about the talk of a reformed future. "We'll get nothing out of it. The Orangemen are still in power." Occasionally they would stone the soldiers.' (*War and an Irish Town*)

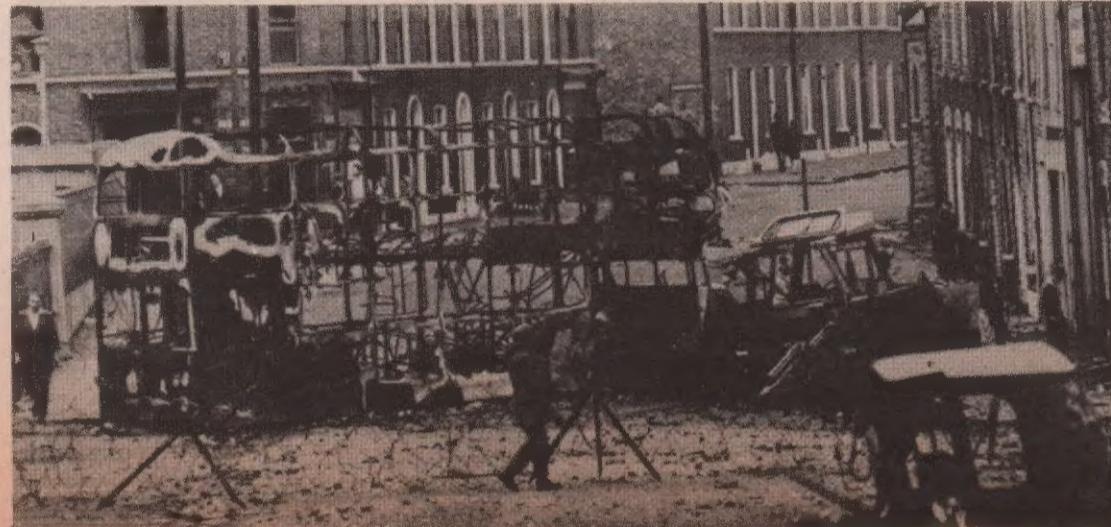
That the Orangemen were still in power became clear as events began to unfold. An internal RUC investigation of police action in the Bogside on 4 January 1969 recommended charges against certain RUC men. It was announced on 3 September 1969 that no action was to be taken. On 21 October 1969, an open verdict was returned on the murder of John Gallagher in Armagh on 14 August 1969. No-one was charged or

O'Neill, who had been given a life peerage. Ian Paisley won the seat. The two sides were inevitably polarising again.

The battles recommenced during the Orange marches in June. Attempts to have them banned were rejected by the Labour government. An Orange march on 2 June was diverted away from the Ardoyne by a local army officer as it would have passed the mouth of Hooker Street full of burnt out Catholic houses. The Loyalists were furious. Two nights of vicious rioting took place in the Shankill Road area and there were clashes with troops.

Everyone knew that the Orange marches, planned to go past strong nationalist areas later in June, would lead to violent clashes. The Stormont Cabinet refused to call them off. On 26 June, Edward Heath, the new Prime Minister after the Tory election victory, was asked by Burroughs, the new British Permanent Representative, to have them banned. Heath said he would inform the new Home Secretary, Maudling, of the situation. Nothing was done and the inevitable happened.

On Saturday 27 June, Orange marches passed the nationalist Ardoyne, Clonard, Unity Flats and the isolated enclave of Short Strand in East Belfast. Battle soon commenced between loyalist and nationalist groups and nationalist youth and the army. The Provisional IRA was now to face its first major test in defending the nationalist minority.



Percy Street 16 August 1969

disciplined. An inquest on the death of Samuel Devenny, badly beaten up in his own house by the RUC in April 1969, said his death was due to natural causes. The policemen who beat him up were never identified or charged. However, Bernadette Devlin MP was charged with riotous behaviour during the siege of Derry and sentenced on 22 December to six months in prison. She was granted £250 bail pending an appeal.

The battles, however, really started again with the beginning of the loyalist marching season during April 1970. They led to the first direct conflict between British troops and Irish nationalist civilians for two generations. It took place on the nationalist Ballymurphy housing estate on the western edge of Belfast. For two hours, an Orange parade marched up and down the Springfield Road where it overlooks Ballymurphy, before leaving for a rally in Bangor. When the Orangemen returned to Belfast that night, they were attacked near Ballymurphy with bottles and stones by angry nationalist crowds. The army intervened and barricaded off the nationalist area. They were attacked by about 400 nationalist youth, and 20 soldiers were injured. The next evening, when the nationalist crowds gathered again, 600 soldiers supported by five Saracen armoured cars moved in and occupied the Ballymurphy estate. They were attacked with stones and bottles. The troops then fired 104 canisters of CS gas saturating the estate, ignoring the plight of children and old people living there. The nationalists replied with petrol bombs. Barricades went up and the confrontation lasted three days.

General Freeland went on television and threatened to shoot dead anyone throwing a petrol bomb. Callaghan supported him. The way to avoid being shot was easy, he said, 'Don't go out with a petrol bomb'. The army had now taken over the RUC's role as protector of the highly provocative Orange parades.

The British army, Unionist politicians and the press tried to blame the IRA for the disturbances. In fact, both sections of the IRA were attempting to limit the confrontation. The Provisional IRA were not yet fully reorganised and they did not want a confrontation with the British army at this stage. Nevertheless, they issued a warning to Freeland that if he carried out his threat to shoot petrol bombers then the Provisional IRA would take retaliatory action.

On 17 April 1970, there was a by-election in the Unionist South Antrim and Barnside seat of Terence

As an Orange march passed the Ardoyne, stones were thrown and gunfire broke out. There were exchanges for roughly 35 minutes. At the end, three Loyalists lay dead. The Provisional IRA commander said that the first shots had come from the loyalist side.

The second battle took place in the Short Strand where 6,000 nationalists are surrounded by 60,000 Loyalists. In the evening after the march, loyalist mobs were trying to bomb the St Matthews Church which dominates the entrance to the area. Paddy Kennedy, a Republican Labour MP in Stormont, asked for protection for the church by the army. He was told nothing could be done as the army was overstretched. The Provisional IRA went into action to defend the area. There was a long gun battle. At the end of it, two loyalist gunmen had been killed and two fatally wounded. One Provisional IRA auxiliary, Henry McIlhone was killed and Billy McKee, the Provisional Commander in Belfast was wounded. The Loyalists were held off. The Provisional IRA had emerged as the only effective defender of the area. Its growth was now ensured.

In Derry, the Bogside had also erupted again. On Friday 26 June, Bernadette Devlin lost her appeal against a six month jail sentence. The RUC agreed that she should surrender at Victoria Barracks in Derry that evening. A 'farewell' meeting was arranged for Free Derry Corner. On her way to this meeting from Belfast, her car was stopped five miles outside Derry. She was immediately arrested and taken to Armagh Prison. When the crowd waiting for her heard this, they were furious. Battle with the army commenced. It was to last all weekend. The first Perspex riot shield appeared on the street – a brick hit it and it broke.

Rubber bullets were fired for the first time. CS gas was fired and the nationalist youth replied with petrol bombs. On Sunday, moderate Catholics led by John Hume called a meeting of prominent people to find a peace formula. It was decided to send a deputation to the British army to ask them to withdraw their soldiers from the area. Sean Keenan, a leading figure in the Provisional IRA, refused to go. He said what they had to do was to defend themselves. When asked 'against whom', he replied 'the British army'. A week later it would be conclusively shown that what he said was true.

As soon as the weekend battles were over, the Stormont Cabinet met and introduced a draconian Criminal Justice (Temporary Provisions) Act, 1970. It

was rushed through Stormont on 1 July after a record 18 hours sitting. It brought in mandatory six month minimum prison terms for offences connected with rioting – 'riotous behaviour', 'disorderly behaviour' and 'behaviour likely to cause a breach of the peace'. The moderate Nationalist opposition in Stormont did not oppose it.

On the same day, the Joint Security Committee which included Porter, Freeland, Young and Chichester-Clark met and discussed the weekend events. They decided that the trouble had spread because the army had not been tough enough when it first broke out. The 'reforms' had failed. Repression and force were now the order of the day.

On 3 July, the army raided a house in Balkan Street in the Lower Falls – a stronghold of the Official IRA. The army had received a tip-off about arms. They found a small collection of arms including twelve pistols and a somewhat archaic sub-machine gun. The soldiers tried to get back to their vehicles a crowd blocked their path. Having pushed their way through to their armoured personnel carriers, one of the drivers reversed and crushed a man to death against some railings. The crowd began to stone the soldiers. The army sent in more troops who fired CS gas throughout the area. Petrol bombs were thrown.

The army withdrew from the area to regroup. Immediately, barricades were built and an NIO (Official IRA) unit took up position to defend the area. Freeland had the whole area cordoned off. The army then moved in with massive force and attacked. A helicopter overhead directed the operation. The battle of the Lower Falls began. The army fired thousands of rounds of high-velocity ammunition. Three civilians were killed. The area was saturated with CS gas. Everywhere people choked. There was nowhere to escape. Inside and outside houses choking clouds of CS gas were everywhere.

At 10.30pm, Freeland declared a curfew of 10pm over the whole Falls area and did not lift it until Sunday morning 35 hours later. While the curfew lasted, a house-to-house search of the whole area took place. The army smashed doors, ripped up floors, tore down fire places, smashed furniture, stole money and left a trail of destruction behind them. Then to rub it in, they took two clearly delighted Unionist ministers, John Brooke and William Long, on an excursion of the area on the back of an army Land Rover.

Freeland's curfew prevented bread and milk van drivers coming in to deliver. Mothers with children were at their wits end. The women of Belfast came up with a plan. Over a 1,000 women and children marched into the Lower Falls carrying bread, milk and other necessities. They pushed aside the troops and distributed the food. It is said that when they came out, good many items the army was searching for came out with them, hidden in prams and under coats. The army's haul was tiny – 35 rifles, 14 shot guns, 6 automatic weapons, 52 pistols and rounds of ammunition. This should be compared with the over 100,000 guns estimated to be in loyalist hands at that time.

The people of 5,000 households had been subjected to deliberate institutionalised terror. The purpose of the operation had been to intimidate the nationalist people. It had the opposite effect. As Sean MacStiofain was to write later

'Far from intimidating the Irish people, the behaviour of the British that weekend alienated them in tens of thousands. Coming on top of the successful IRA-led defence of Ballymacarrett [Short Strand] and other districts, what the battle of Lower Falls did was to provide endless water for the Republican guerrilla fish to swim in.'

The Provisional IRA had not at first been involved in the Lower Falls battle. However, it gradually came into engagement with British troops, carrying out diversionary actions in other parts of Belfast. A bridge was also blown up in Andersonstown and the soldiers who came to investigate were fired on.

The Falls Curfew confirmed everything that the Provisional IRA had recognised from its formation. The Civil Rights Movement had inevitably come into direct conflict with the very existence of the loyalist state. And in that conflict, the real enemy, British imperialism and its troops, had emerged and would have to be fought and destroyed if there was to be any progress for the Irish people.

In the next few months, recruitment to the Provisional IRA rose dramatically. So did nationalist support. The nationalist youth that had fought the RUC and loyalist mobs on the streets of Derry and Belfast were now joining their Army – the Provisional IRA.

David Reed
November 1981

to be continued

IRELAND

a debate between RCG and CPGB

On Friday 9 October an important debate took place in Conway Hall, London between the RCG and the CPGB. Over 100 people attended the meeting which was chaired by Alistair Logan.

In South Africa, El Salvador, Ireland and throughout the world imperialist rule is in crisis as the oppressed and revolutionary peoples fight to throw off the yoke of domination. Here in Britain forces are emerging in the working class to challenge and defy the imperialist state. Striving to hold back the development of a revolutionary movement in Britain are the imperialist Labour Party and trade union leadership. Nowhere is the test of a revolutionary anti-imperialist organisation more clearly shown than in its attitude to the Irish liberation struggle, a struggle that strikes at the heart of British imperialism.

The RCG's position is well known — full and unconditional support to the Irish struggle and its vanguard, the Republican movement. The defeat of British imperialism in Ireland is vital both as the precondition for the emancipation of the Irish working class and also the key to the socialist revolution in Britain. We call for self-determination for the Irish people and troops out now. The CPGB, on the other hand, attacks the Republican movement on the grounds that its struggle divides the working class and sets back the struggle for socialism in Ireland. The CPGB does not call for troops out now, but for an end to repression and for various reforms on the part of British imperialism. Recently many CPGB members and readers of the *Morning Star* have become disturbed by this and by the apparent contradiction that the CPGB supports the ANC's armed struggle in South Africa but not the IRA's in Ireland. The CP has been forced to try to explain this in the *Morning Star*, in letters to *Fight Racism! Fight Imperialism!* and now in this public debate.

Speaking for the CPGB Chris Myant began, as is customary, by declaring the support of the Communist Party for the right of the Irish people to self-determination, but went on to denounce the actual struggle being waged to achieve self-determination. He soon revealed the real concern of the CPGB when he said

'the British government has not been able to find any stable basis upon which to build some alternative authority to run that area'

The CPGB cannot admit that the only 'stable basis' for British rule in Ireland is the crushing of the opposition to that rule. The CPGB is critical of British repression but its criticism is that British repression far from crushing that opposition creates ever greater revolutionary threats to its rule in Ireland.

He repeated the petit bourgeois fantasy that since the early 1960s British imperialism has been trying to reform its rule in Ireland. This merely spreads the illusion that British imperialism is capable of reforming itself when the fact is that British imperialism is not capable of playing a democratic or progressive role either in Ireland or anywhere else.

Declaring that partition is the basis of the division of the Irish working class he went on to denounce those who are fighting against partition – the IRA, whose military campaign had, said Myant, ‘consolidated and deepened the basis on which partition rests’. His alternative? ‘Political’ campaigning around issues which could create unity with Loyalist workers. To reconcile the irreconcilable



Chris Myant (CPGB)

union movement was finally confirmed when he said that only by 'political' campaigning on issues which unite the working class in the Six Counties would it be possible to

'develop solidarity actions of a meaningful character in this country and unlock the power of the British Labour movement which in the past has played such a fine role in assisting colonial nations to achieve their national liberation.'

The British Labour and trade union movement has never given meaningful assistance to any national liberation struggle and has consistently betrayed the cause of the Irish people throughout this century. To call on the Irish people to cease their struggle for national liberation whilst waiting for the CPGB to unlock the power of the British Labour movement is nothing but a cynical ploy.

the British Labour movement is nothing short of a surrender to British imperialism.

Speaking for the RCG Terry Marlowe began by stating that the war in Ireland is the central political issue facing the British working class. He explained that the world was divided between the imperialist



nations and their supporters on the one hand, and the oppressed nations, and the Socialist countries on the other. Communists stand with the oppressed in their fight against imperialism and in so doing oppose all those elements within the working class that defend imperialism. Only by uniting with the oppressed people fighting imperialism can the British working class defeat its ruling class and win socialism. Imperialism creates not only revolutionary opposition¹² amongst the oppressed but also a layer in the working class movement which is tied to imperialism by economic, political and social privilege: the labour aristocracy. This layer acts as a staunch defender of British imperialism within the working class.

He pointed to the example of the 1913 Dublin lockout in which it was the Labour Party and trade union leadership which destroyed British working class solidarity with the Dublin workers and therefore aided the ruling class in defeating the Dublin workers. Today as in 1913 the struggle of the Irish people against British imperialism strikes at the very basis of not only imperialist rule but also of the very existence of this privileged and treacherous layer in the British working class. Therefore British communists give full and unconditional support to the struggle of the Irish people for self-determination. The CPGB had abandoned this and adopted instead the position of the labour aristocracy itself — for a 'socialist colonial policy'. First put forward in the international working class movement by Bernstein at the beginning of the century the argument for a 'socialist colonial policy' has been consistently exposed by communists as racist and reactionary.

In answer to Chris Myant's demand for 'peaceful mass politics' he pointed out that the Irish people had tested this in the early Civil Rights movement and were beaten off the streets by the RUC 'B Specials' British army. They were therefore forced to take up the armed struggle in order to pursue their legitimate struggle for self-determination. Sectarianism was not a matter of wrong ideas but based on the material and social privilege granted to Loyalist workers in order to maintain support for British rule and partition. The only way that the Irish working class could be overcome was by destroying British rule and partition: the basis of the UDA, UVF and INLA were therefore correct.



Terry Marlowe (RCG)

British Government in 1977 promised not to use torture again and 'you wouldn't get the South Africans saying that'. Of course the CP 'wasn't satisfied' with the police in Northern Ireland and believed there should be 'better supervision'. The audience was aghast at these statements. But Bert Ward ploughed on telling them of the 'greater possibilities for political action in Ireland than South Africa'. He quite 'forgot' the 14 shot in Derry – quite aside from Diplock Courts, Long Kesh, plastic bullets and Castlereagh torture centre.

bullets and Castlereagh torture centre. David Reed for the RCG denounced the rank imperialist behaviour of both the RCT-P and the CPBC for placing conditions on their support for any independence movement. He declared the following: "We believe in the right of self-determination of peoples. We believe in the right of the British people to decide their own fate. We believe in the right of the Irish people to decide their own fate. We believe in the right of the Welsh people to decide their own fate. We believe in the right of the Scottish people to decide their own fate. We believe in the right of the English people to decide their own fate. We believe in the right of the Northern Irish people to decide their own fate. We believe in the right of the people of the British Isles to decide their own fate."

ing the armed struggle to destroy partition. Imperialism can only rule by force and repression, it cannot be reformed, only destroyed. Its 'democracy' only exists so long as the results suit British imperialism. In the election of Bobby Sands, when the rules were changed to prevent other prisoners being elected, and in the 1918 election when Dail Eireann was suppressed, this was proved. The only basis for progress in Ireland, and in Britain, is the defeat of British imperialist rule in Ireland.

By opposing the immediate withdrawal of British troops, denouncing the struggle for Irish national liberation and covering up for the imperialist Labour Party the CPGB had abandoned the communist position on Ireland and sided with reactionary British imperialism. Communists oppose any form of imperialist oppression, support the struggle of oppressed people against imperialism, whether it be the IRA in Ireland or the ANC in South Africa. They fight for the unity of the British working class with the Irish people against British imperialism and its agents in the British working class movement.

The discussion that followed continued the sharp battle between the communist position and that of the petit bourgeois left. The first contribution from the RCT-Party exposed the unity of the trotskyist petit bourgeois socialists and the CPGB — both placing conditions on their support for liberation movements. For Mike Freeman (RCT-P) this consisted of having a 'responsibility as communists to point out the inadequacies of the programmes of the liberation movements in Southern Africa' and their 'tendencies to compromise with imperialism'. Loud cries of 'Shame' greeted this. Ironically, the IRA was excluded from RCT-P criticism on the grounds that the working class in Britain was already hostile to it! His final racist act was to exclude black people from the British working class by saying that the RCG had 'turned away' from the British working class and instead had turned to 'Irish and black people'. Bert Ward the CPGB's Irish organiser, said that the ANC's armed struggle was justified whereas the IRA's was not. In South Africa hundreds of people were murdered in police stations. 'That's not the situation and never was in Northern Ireland'. The

people to self-determination
the British working class was
defend its own rights, citing
of more than three million
bans on demonstrations and the
failure to support the black and
being attacked and imprisoned
the summer risings. 'Comrades,
'we sign our own death warrants.
moment we start insisting we
port those comrades who are
fundamental democratic rights
the democratic right of self-determination.
We destroy ourselves.'

... we destroy ourselves.

Tom Durkin attempted to CPGB claiming that they were the withdrawal of British troops certain conditions... to be last the CPGB! Maxine Williams attacked Bert Ward's call for 'vision' of RUC torture asking do the supervising? According to CPGB none other than British imperialism. She denounced the 'Brother' attitude of the CPGB it with that of Bill Sirs who was sent by South Africa to drag the black South Africa 'out of the dark ages'. Bill Sirs and the CPGB were in the dark ages because they were in the imperialist camp. An Irish comrade SLTOM bitterly attacked the constant obstruction of any attempt at the trade union movement to support for the Irish people and the CPGB's refusal to support strikers. Applause and laughter followed his final remark that 'I don't understand when I went to America they asked me if I was a member of the Communist Party. I'd have thought they would ask if I was a member of the Communist Party.'

member of the Communist Party. Summing up Terry Marlowe of the CPGB of using its membership to support the emergence of a solidarity movement in Britain. When was it ever a position to say to workers that socialism has killed more than a century of people? Oppressed and exploited peoples throughout the world have supported the Irish liberation struggle. The CPGB used left phrases to denounce imperialism and to tell Irish workers they should unite with their oppressors to support their own oppression. Myant then retreated into the vagueness of 'complex' and 'wider issues' in a last-ditch effort to defend the CPGB's reactionary politics. The loud applause which greeted the speaker left no doubt that the audience supported the right-wing communist position.

It is not surprising that the CPGB has censored this significant document from printing any report. The contrast between the real communist position and the official communism of the CPGB could not have been clearer. Moreover the crisis has been deepened by the deep crisis; riven by division in the Party, Morning Star sales and large-scale resignations. On the question of the Soviet Union, the Party has even put forward resolutions which subject to this year's Congress would have confined the crisis to the Irish question. It slanders the Soviet Union, calls for uprisings of black and white workers in Britain and dangles the illusion of a native Programme as a solution to unemployment. It is not mere

to Ireland that the CPGB - imperialism can be reformed see The capitalist class positions and the right to form a government must be maintained as the only way to prevent the British imperialists from



REPORT FROM IRELAND

The suspension of the hunger strike prior to achieving the political prisoners' demands represented a major tactical success for British imperialism and its Irish capitalist allies. The resurgent force of the increasingly politicised Irish working class north and south but particularly in the south was put into a state of suspended animation. An episode of unmitigated exposure of the collaborationist 26 Counties bourgeoisie ceased. British imperialism was afforded a respite in which to conceive or implement its next expedient measure.

The announcement by northern colonial governor Prior of prison reforms to be implemented throughout the 6 Counties prison system was calculated at conceding the POWs demands in the public eye while refusing to attach to POWs an explicit political label, reference or status. The desired and achieved result was the demobilisation of the mass movement behind the prisoners' campaign. Criminalisation as a rhetorical propaganda weapon has not been dropped though its symbol, prison clothes, is no longer compulsory gear for all prisoners in 6 County gaols ('All prisoners' comprise an overwhelming predominance of POWs).

Irish reaction to the suspension of the hunger strike was swift and reflected the division between middle class and working class parties. The leaders of the middle class parties Fine Gael, Fianna Fail and the SDLP welcomed the end of the hunger strike, relieved that a source of instability to bourgeois rule had been neutralised. Likewise the opportunist parties of coalition Labour and the SFWP looked forward to the end of the national liberation struggle and further accommodation to their masters, British imperialism.

The Republican socialist movement on the other hand has correctly seen the Free State establishment's role in the hunger strikes as one of treachery. The Republican response has been as always unconditional support for the prisoners' decision and rejection of bourgeois and opportunist attempts to sell the POWs short. Republican and H-Block activists remain unconvinced that the history of prison protest between imperialism and its political detainees has terminated on the ending of the hunger strike. There is a profound belief that a resolution of protest between the imperialist architects of the concentration camp and the anti-imperialist activists incarcerated within will be reached only with the crushing of imperialism.

In the immediate future however H-Block/Republican socialist activists will seek to ensure that the H-Block setback is not irreversible.

Rather it can become the basis for progress and an intensification of anti-imperialist struggle. The incarcerated Irish freedom fighters in the H-Blocks have asked the H-Block/Armagh Committee to monitor the implementation of proposed prison reform so that the British authorities do not have a free hand in reverting to practising aspects of their old criminalisation policy such as on prison work. At the same time recently released People's soldier John Connolly has reaffirmed that the H-Block POWs campaign is not for three or four concessions but is a continuation of the struggle against British oppression.

It is the same hatred of imperialist oppression that motivates IRA/INLA Volunteers to attack members of the British ruling class and military and commercial targets in Britain. The war of national liberation and the prison protest of political prisoners, including the men of the H-Blocks are not over. They will not be over until they are completed. And they will not be completed until the condition that produced them—British imperialism—is broken.

Morrigan

Free State collaboration

The practical support which the Free State government gives to the forces of British imperialism in the North of Ireland has again been shown on a number of levels over the past few weeks. The search for Ben Dunne, the wealthy Dublin capitalist who was kidnapped near the border, was used by the Free State government as an opportunity to demonstrate that the closer co-operation between the Northern and Southern police and military forces in the border areas which had been encouraged by the previous government under Charles Haughey has now been still further increased.

It was confirmed that the RUC and the Garda are not only in regular radio contact with each other but also frequently cross the border to meet each other in order to exchange information on known or suspected Republicans. The RUC have expressed themselves well pleased with the efforts of their counterparts on the other side of the border: at the time of the search for Ben Dunne they issued a statement saying that the level of co-operation between themselves and the Garda was 'excellent and extensive'. Indeed the only complaints have come from the Free State government which recently expressed dissatisfaction at the low level of RUC and British Army activity in the border area of South Armagh, although it acknowledged the 'difficulties' faced by the British forces in this area.

Meanwhile in the courts the close co-operation between the Free State and British governments was further demonstrated when two men were charged in the Special Criminal Court in Dublin with escaping from Crumlin Road prison in Belfast last June. Both men were charged under the Criminal Law Jurisdiction Act 1976, which allows people in either part of Ireland to be tried for 'offences' which have allegedly been committed in the other part. The trials of both men were fixed for 10 December.

Not content with this level of collaboration, however, Garret Fitzgerald has recently suggested that an all-Ireland court should be set up in order to deal more effectively with Republicans captured on both sides of the border. This proposal may not at the moment be entirely to the liking of the British government—which would prefer straightforward extradition between the two parts of Ireland—but the sentiment behind it undoubtedly is, confirming as it does once again that in the Free State government the Republican Movement faces an enemy which is just as determined and ruthless as the British government itself.

Irish correspondent

BARRY PROSSER CAMPAIGN CONTINUES

The determined and courageous fight by Barry Prosser's family to bring to trial the screws responsible for murdering Barry, has resulted in a victory for the Prosser family.

Since Melvyn Jackson, Howard Price and Eric Smith, screws from Winson Green prison charged with the murder of Barry Prosser, were set free by stipendiary magistrate Frederick Hatchard in September of this year; the Prosser family have been fighting the state's cover up of Barry's murder. Thousands of signatures have been collected in petitions protesting at the DPP closing the case; Mrs Prosser, Barry's widow has spoken at meetings to build support for her campaign; weekly pickets have been held outside Winson Green prison and supported by FRFI.

Support from within the prisons for the Prosser family's struggle has been widespread, but this support has met with repression from the screws. Mrs Prosser has received many letters of support from prisoners and ex-prisoners from Winson Green, including David Pagett who was sentenced to 12 years inside for a murder committed by the police; for his act of solidarity with the Prosser family, David Pagett was moved to Wakefield prison.

Another prisoner in Winson Green staged a rooftop protest, protesting at the cover up of the murder. Prisoners in Stafford gaol organized a collection for the Barry Prosser Fund, and for their pains, the organisers were punished with solitary confinement. In Parkhurst, an Irish prisoner attempted to organise a collection, he was also put into solitary confinement, but despite this he still managed to send £1.00 of his own money to the fund. The prisoners no doubt realise, as Mrs Prosser has stated herself, the campaign won't bring Barry back, but as long as the spotlight is kept on the prisons, the screws will have to think twice about beating up prisoners.

In the face of such determination, the state was forced to back down and re-open the case, in an attempt to hide the defeat inflicted upon it, the state has moved the case from Birmingham, where the campaign has wide support, to Leicester where the case has had less publicity. The Prosser family, having won what they set out to achieve—the trial of the three screws—have not given up, they are widening the campaign, calling for a public inquiry into the conditions inside Winson Green.

FRFI readers are urged to support the campaign: Pickets are held every Saturday between 12.30 and 1.30 pm outside Winson Green Prison in Birmingham.

Send messages of support and donations to: 2 High Park Crescent, Sedgeley, West Midlands. Cheques and P.O.'s to 'Barry Prosser Fund'.

Review

We Shall Rise Again by Nora Connolly O'Brien Mosquito Press £1.95

Nora Connolly O'Brien, the daughter of James Connolly, died in June this year at the age of 88. Her life of active struggle in support of the Irish people's fight for self-determination spans the 1916 Rising and today's struggle.

This book, a collection of reminiscences, therefore records incidents from every major period in the fight for an Irish Republic this century. Her main theme is to reveal the continuity of that fight. As she says:

'For many centuries we in Ireland have had an unbroken tradition of each generation having an armed uprising against Britain. In my generation we had an armed uprising in 1916 with the proclamation of the freedom of the Republic of Ireland. Then our flying columns beat the Black and Tans in 1921. This tradition has not been broken by the generation which is now fighting to free Britain's last toehold in Ireland—the six counties.'

Throughout her account of her life she makes clear the revolutionary Republican tradition of opposition to British imperialist rule and to the traitor class in the 26 Counties.

We Shall Rise Again should be read by anyone wanting to know about the Irish people's long and bitter struggle for self-determination. Here is the account of one leading participant in that struggle.

TM

British prisons In Brief

● Threat to stop visits

Prisons screws are using every opportunity to try and create conflict between Irish POWs and other prisoners. The following is one of many such incidents. On Sunday 11 October, a screw named Higginson from Parkhurst prison was heard saying to other screws 'Tell the prisoners there won't be any visits today because the IRA have blown up the trains.'

● Barry Prosser

The prison system is, along with the British courts, conspiring to prevent the truth of Barry Prosser's murder coming to light. Prisoners at Parkhurst wanted to make a collection for Mrs Prosser who is conducting a campaign to expose the truth. The prison Governor refused them permission. Nevertheless prisoners are sending individual donations by other means.

● Prisoners demand rights

Prisoners in English jails have taken heart from the struggle of Irish prisoners in the H-Blocks and Armagh. At Parkhurst and Albany they are demanding to be given the same rights and privileges as prisoners in other parts of the 'UK', ie the 6 counties!

The prisoners are asking for:

- half remission
- to be allowed to wear their own clothes

A large number of prisoners have asked to see the Regional Director of Prisons in relation to this matter. The Director was expected to be in Parkhurst on 21 and 22 October.

● 'Measure of Mercy'

Readers may remember PC Peter Swindell as the man who was acquitted of (some would say got away with) the killing and savage dismembering of a prostitute, Fiona Malone. Not only has he escaped conviction of murder, but he has now had a sentence of 5 years changed to three, as a most extraordinary 'measure of mercy' by the Court of Appeal.

● Anti-Imperialist Snake
Finally, congratulations to the young Boa Constrictor which escaped from a box in Teddington Police Station. It managed to beat a police Sergeant and a Cadet before being recaptured. Unfortunately Boa Constrictor is not poisono-

IRISH PRISONERS



REPUBLICAN NEWS

The Irish POWs in English gaols suffer a brutal and bureaucratically sadistic regime. Many of them may have to endure 30 or more years of this hell. Some of them face it as captured soldiers. Others face it for the simple reason that they are Irish and as a result were framed. After military actions by the IRA in Britain there are orchestrated campaigns of anti-Irish hysteria. This is happening now in response to the current IRA military campaign in Britain. Amidst the hysteria, random Irish men and women are arrested under the PTA, held, questioned and—if lucky, released. Others will not be so lucky. They will be framed and convicted on the most spurious and non-existent 'evidence'. They will then join the other Irish men and women who face years of torment in British gaols.

All prisoners who resist are subjected to the full rigours of prison torture. But above all the Irish POWs have experienced, and resisted, the very worst viciousness that the prison system is capable of.

Murder

The ultimate weapon of prison terror is murder. Five Irish POWs have been murdered in the last seven years.

Michael Gaughan joined the Price sisters and other POWs on hunger strike for repatriation and political status in early 1974. All of the hunger strikers were tortured by force-feeding. On 3 June 1974 the force-feeding tube was shoved through his lung and he died.

Frank Stagg joined Michael Gaughan on the hunger strike in 1974. He ended his strike on the unfulfilled promise of repatriation. In Long Lartin he again went on hunger strike for 34 days. Transferred to Wakefield in 1975 he was thrown into solitary confinement and went on hunger strike for the third time. On 12 February 1976 he died on hunger strike.

Noel Jenkinson was framed for the Aldershot bombing in 1972. He was held in top security units and frequently viciously beaten. He was found dead in Leicester Special Security Block on 9 October 1976. An independent autopsy on his body was refused by the Home Office terrified of letting the truth of his murder get out.

Sean O'Conaill died of untreated cancer. X-rayed eighteen months before his death he was told he had an ulcer. For eighteen months his medical 'treatment' consisted of cream to rub on his chest. On 1 October 1977 he died in great pain. The pathologists report showed that his form of cancer could be detected and treated by X-ray.

Giuseppe Conlon, frail, elderly and suffering from TB visited England simply to see his son Gerard who faced trial for the Woolwich and Guildford bombings. Giuseppe was then himself arrested and framed along with the Maguire family for 'making explosives'. He had 25% lung capacity when he entered prison. In Wakefield he was put to work in the woodwork shop where he was immediately crippled by the dust and fumes. He was then transferred to the paintshop which was worse. On 23 January 1980 he died. Both Giuseppe Conlon and Sean O'Conaill were murdered as surely as if the prison warders had strangled them.

Beating and brutality

If murder is the ultimate weapon, beatings and brutality are the normal everyday resource of the prison warders. Special brutality is reserved for the Irish POWs who have always fought the terror regime not only for themselves but for all prisoners.

In August 1976 Irish POWs joined in the Hull prison rising. After the rising they were picked out for special treatment. Gerry Cunningham, Ray MacLaughlin, John Walker, Paul Hill, Martin Brady and Joe Duffy were forced to walk a gauntlet of screws. The screws tried to make them drink tea with urine in it, shout 'God save the Queen' and shout 'God save Ulster'. Because they all refused they were repeatedly beaten.

In September 1976 protesting against the solitary confinement of Brendan Dowd, six Irish POWs barricaded themselves into their cells in Albany Prison. A mob of screws, armed and clad in riot gear, broke into the cells and beat all six prisoners. Father Fell came out of it with a broken nose. The most seriously injured was Sean Campbell who suffered a broken arm, broken leg, broken ribs, broken fingers, a punctured lung, extensive bruising and abrasions.

In August 1979 in Wormwood Scrubs, prisoners staged a peaceful sit-down protest against the inhuman conditions. Again Irish POWs played a full part in the protest. The prisoners were all brutally attacked by the MUFTI squad. 300 heavily armed and disguised screws systematically beat 200 protesting

humiliating, degrading and inhuman conditions themselves and for all prisoners.

Patrick Hackett lost an arm and a leg in a prison explosion. He had to fight the prison 'doctors' for artificial limbs fitted. Even now the limbs he has are uncomfortable and difficult to wear that he only wears the leg in order to move about. Since 1976 he has only a blanket, refusing to wear prison uniform. Whilst in Wormwood Scrubs he was allowed to exercise in the blanket. Since being transferred to field he has been denied any exercise or association. For nearly two years he has suffered these conditions as a result of which his eyesight and his physical condition are failing. Yet his resistance continues.

Irish POWs have used rooftop protests, strikes, blanket protests, work strikes to fight and every attempt to degrade or break them. In the beatings, isolation and solitary confinement continue to fight. The high point of resistance was the Hull rising in 1976.

In August 1976 a prisoner called Artie Clifford was placed in the 'strong box' and beaten. By 5 August the news was all round the prison as prisoners rebelled. They seized A Wing and the rising began. Irish POWs were in the forefront of the struggle.

The prisoners began to demolish the prison walls, broke into the punishment block and liberated men in solitary confinement including Artie Clifford. They moved into C Wing and D Wing via the roof.

The prisoners took to the roof carrying bibles reading 'Four Screws Beat Up One Prisoner' 'Provost Rule Hull OK!' On Friday 3 September rising, after four days of liberation, ended in a disciplined and organised fashion. The subversive beatings, solitary confinement and destruction of personal property could not destroy the spirit of those four days. Irish POW Paul Hill, who helped liberate Archie Clifford, describes that spirit:

'In Hull I was one of 4 cons who busted those segregation block out and I witnessed A Wing and I say now that the side of his face was maimed. None could ever tell me otherwise, as I seen with my own eyes. I also felt and adored the feeling of the cons down in the block hugged us as if we were just broken them from hell, some were so weak they even had tears in their eyes, and I didn't know these "crazy happy guys". But to me it was if they were my brothers (and they were) as I did of them a con.'

The resistance organised and led by Irish POWs created powerful bonds of solidarity between POWs and the other prisoners. When Irish POWs went on the roof at Long Lartin in protest against the murder of Bobby Sands they were supported by the other prisoners. From 4 May to 10 May they remained on the roof. The other prisoners made known to the Governor that any attempt to force the prisoners off the roof would be met with a riot. The prisoners also ensured that when the POWs came down they were given food, a bath and change of clothes and got back to their cells without beatings. Thus black, English and Irish prisoners joined together in mutual solidarity against the murder of Bobby Sands and against the terror in British prisons.

The Irish POWs are demanding political status, the right of repatriation to serve their sentence in Ireland. All communists, anti-imperialists, democrats in Britain must support these demands. The Irish POWs have proved themselves to be the most consistent opponents of the prison machine. The British prison system is a machine of brutality, dehumanisation, terror and murder built together by bureaucratic sadism and official thuggery. A machine built up without a single protest from the Labour Party and TUC leaders, journalists, civil libertarians and others of the same. A machine designed to terrorise those held captive in the state and strike fear into the working class of Britain. It is not the 'champions of democracy' but the Irish POWs who have fought this vicious system. Five thousand have given their lives. The Irish POWs are leading the fightback within the prisons. They deserve, and must get, the wholehearted support and solidarity of communists, anti-imperialists and democrats in Britain.

Victory to the Irish POWs!
Repatriation for Irish POWs!
Political Status Now!
Defend Prisoners Rights Now!

IN ENGLISH GAOLS

The British prison system is a machinery of murder which has been carefully constructed, protected by a wall of silence and safeguarded in the courts. The murder of Barry Prosser shows how screws are free to beat and kill prisoners at whim. Only a determined campaign by Barry Prosser's widow prevented his death being subject to the usual 'cover up'. That the prison murder machine can and does function in Britain is due to self-styled champions of democracy and civil liberties who have knowingly kept silent whilst prisoners are brutalised. Their lips have been most determinedly sealed in the case of the murder and torture of Irish POWs. Yet the prison murder machine—of which all prisoners are potential victims—has been tested and perfected in its use against Irish POWs.

prisoners. Irish POW Roland Lynch suffered a badly bleeding head wound and extensive painful bruising to the head and body. Over 69 prisoners had to be treated for head wounds.

All this murder and brutality is an essential part of the prison system. The Irish POWs, fighting for their own demands for political status and the right of repatriation, and giving consistent support to the rights of all prisoners, have always been selected for special brutality. The prison authorities hope that by breaking the Irish POWs they can break the organised resistance to their terror regime.

Isolation

Every effort is made to isolate resisting prisoners: isolate them within the prisons and isolate them from family, friends and supporters outside. Nearly all Irish POWs are placed in top security Category A. In 1977 out of 92 Irish POWs 86 were Category A.

A total of 12 prisoners are held in two Special Security Blocks (SSBs) in British prisons. Six of them are Irish POWs. The SSBs, in Leicester and Parkhurst, are designed to completely isolate prisoners that the terror regime cannot control. They are prisons within a prison. Separate buildings, separate entrances, separate exercise yards, separate visiting facilities and special security. The prisoners are kept completely isolated from all other prisoners.

For visits, the prisoners have to wear a separate set of specially examined clothes which they change out of again after the visit. The visitor is thoroughly searched and taken through a long circuitous corridor with six separate electronically controlled doors to reach the visiting area. Even reading material is censored. Brendan Dowd, in Leicester SSB, was allowed to read material alleging inhuman conditions in Soviet prisons but refused material on actual inhuman conditions imposed on Irish POWs! He was also refused a book on the Fenian bombing campaign of the 1860's on the grounds that he might learn something!

The major isolation weapon is solitary confinement either as punishment or under the infamous Rule 43—

the Good Order and Discipline (GOD) rule. Solitary confinement is aimed both at defeating the POWs and breaking up the bonds of solidarity between the POWs and other prisoners.

Hugh Doherty and Eddie Butler were held in solitary for two years and four months whilst Leicester SSB was built. Patrick Hackett has been in solitary for nearly two years in Wakefield. Following the Hull rising Joe Duffy was held in solitary for 18 months. Ray MacLaughlin was given 12 months solitary after Hull. Under the GOD rule Michael McLaughlin spent over two years in solitary. In Wormwood Scrubs four Irish POWs are presently in solitary under the GOD rule.

Isolation extends to the constant use of transfers. These transfers are often timed to coincide with visits in order to disrupt the relations between POWs and their families. Mrs Armstrong, after a long journey to Wormwood Scrubs from Belfast, was told that her son, Patrick Armstrong, had been transferred to Hull 2½ hours before. In July 1977 Sean O'Conaill's mother, an OAP, set out from Bristol to visit him at Gartree. She arrived to be told that he had been transferred to Albany on the Isle of Wight just one hour before. She never saw her son again.

The families of POWs are attacked and harassed to further isolate the prisoners. During one visit a POW's small daughter mentioned a birthday party she had been to. Two days later the family that gave the party were visited by CID and asked if they knew they had the daughter of an 'IRA bomber' at their party. This callous attempt to isolate the POWs and their families is a deliberate part of the prison regime. Even visits themselves are conducted in oppressive and restrictive conditions with limitations placed on physical contact and screws listening to every word—often openly taking notes.

Resistance and solidarity

Todays generation of Irish POWs have, individually and collectively, refused to give up their struggle for repatriation and political status and refused to accept

Extracts from a statement by Irish POWs in England (26 September 1981)

Once again we would like to realign ourselves with the Republican Movement, and express our full support in the leadership of the Movement...

In our statement of last year we pointed out that collaborators and political opportunists were pressurising the leadership of the Movement to declare a ceasefire. Once again we hear these calls from so-called friends of the Irish people and the pseudo Socialists (Noel Browne, Jim Fenny and Company) putting pressure on the leadership of the movement to call a ceasefire...

...the prisoners realise that the only people who have our interest, and the interest of the whole Irish people at heart are the IRA, Sinn Fein, H-Block Armagh Committees, the IRSP, and those groups and people who are genuine with their work and support... In recognising them as our leaders we ask them and you to follow the example of our dead comrades in the

H-Blocks. If you were to even contemplate the thought of abandoning the war you would be abandoning everything which they and the other dead patriots have given their lives for. Follow their courage and determination, and continue with the war until such times as the British Government declares its intention to withdraw from Ireland, militarily, politically, and economically...

...we now ask you our comrades to keep intact the committees that have been formed to further the demand of Repatriation for the Republican prisoners in this country...

We have used every method open to us, but as usual the British Government have rejected our request for Repatriation with contempt... Once this protest has been successfully concluded we intend to... challenge the British Government by any means necessary to win the right to serve our sentences in Ireland...

Terry Marlowe

RCG-FRFI MONTHLY Round-up

More on arrest of Bill Bolloten

Readers of RCG-FRFI will remember the arrest of Bill Bolloten, an RCG-FRFI supporter, during a street meeting held in support of the Bradford 12. As expected the police have now served him with a summons to appear in court on December 21. He has been charged with acting 'in a manner calculated to blemish the peace'. As we commented in RCG-FRFI 13, the state when it wants to silence opposition to it, will use anything it 'can dig out from the oppressive catalogue of laws it has accumulated through its bloody history'. Readers will not be surprised then to hear that the police are applying that he be 'bound over to be of good behaviour in accordance with the Justice of the Peace Act 1361'!!

Bradford street meeting

Despite recent arrests (as reported in RCG-FRFI 13), RCG-FRFI supporters in Bradford are continuing to hold street meetings every week in support of the Bradford 12. On 10 October, braving driving rain and hailstones, RCG-FRFI supporters held a successful street meeting in the mainly Asian Horton Grange area of the city. For almost an hour militant speeches were made calling

for all charges to be dropped and support to be given to the framed-up twelve youth, some who live in the Horton Grange area. The local residents responded enthusiastically, many of them standing on their doorsteps listening to the speeches. Leaflets were given out and money was donated for the defence fund. The value of holding well-prepared and well-organised street meetings was soon proved when someone from the area joined the meeting and enthusiastically began to collect donations from passers-by and the local Asian shopkeepers. Over the coming weeks we now intend to build the street meetings in the other black areas of the city.

Iran Solidarity

On Saturday 10 October, a contingent of Fight Racism! Fight Imperialism! supporters marched on a demonstration organised by Iran Solidarity in condemnation of the regime of terror imposed against the people of Iran by the Islamic Republican Party. The police refused to allow the march to go to Kensington, or to Trafalgar Square. The militant march of 600 anti-imperialists started and ended at the Victoria embankment, passing through Fleet Street. A speech of solidarity with the

oppressed people of Iran was given by an RCG-FRFI supporter at the rally ending the march.

Iran demonstration

On Saturday 7 November an RCG-FRFI contingent marched on a demonstration organised by the Coordinating Committee in Defence of the Iranian People's Struggle, condemning the Islamic Republic Regime in Iran. The Committee is supported by OIPFG, PEYKAR, and KOMALA. The militant demonstration of over 300 marched from Hyde Park to Trafalgar Square, where speeches were heard from the Iranian organisations, and solidarity messages, read by British organisations, including RCG-FRFI, on the march. A message was also received from the IRSP. The rally ended with the singing of the International.

South London demonstration

On Saturday 17 October a small, militant demonstration organised by the South London Hunger Strike Action Committee marched through South London to the Thames Embankment.

Calling for 'Victory to the Irish People!' it was the first demonstration to take place following the end of the hunger strike, and the first following the hysterical anti-Irish press campaign in response to the bombing

of Chelsea barracks. It was the duty of communists and socialists to show their support for the Irish liberation struggle at this time. The Iranian anti-imperialist organisations PEYKAR and OIPFG gave their support, and from Britain the RCG and supporters of RCG-FRFI, supporters of the RCL(B), NCP and representatives of the Armagh Women's Coordinating Committee. Supporters of Newcastle Hunger Strike Action Committee travelled hundreds of miles to attend this demonstration.

Along the route from Brixton to Embankment the march received strong support. Black youth shouted their support for the IRA and people came out of shops and accepted leaflets with interest. At the rally which terminated the march the representative of Sinn Fein said that the prison struggle would not be over until all demands had been won, and reaffirmed the Republican Movement's commitment to armed struggle.

Members of the SWP, IMG, TOM and other British organisations should note their absence from this small but important demonstration with shame. The hypocrisy of the SWP was exposed. Like other sham socialist papers *Socialist Worker* joined with the imperialist press to condemn the Chelsea barracks bombing, but adding of course that socialists must con-



South London march for Victory to the Irish People

tinued to take to the street in support of the Irish struggle. Well then comrades, where were you on Saturday?

Dundee film show

The Dundee Irish Republican Solidarity Committee organised a very successful showing of 'Prisoner of War' on 5 November. Over 30 people attended to watch the film and discuss future work on Ireland, in particular the need to defend meetings in Scotland from loyalist attacks. An Iranian comrade spoke of the murderous executions of the Iranian government and conveyed the revolutionary greetings of the Iranian people to all those fighting imperialism and oppression throughout the world. Many people took away leaflets mobilising for our demonstration on Saturday 28 November.

Dundee - Free Speech in City Square

Smash Police Censorship on Ireland! This was the message of an open air rally on Saturday 14 November in Dundee. Despite loyalist thugs spitting and threatening accompanied by open police hostility our numbers grew with many passers-by buying RCG-FRFI and taking leaflets for coming events.

Once again it was proved that democratic rights are only defended by revolutionary forces.

Manchester street meetings'

Manchester RCG-FRFI supporters have held regular street meetings every Saturday since 26 September. Held in the working class district of Rusholme, RCG-FRFI speakers have campaigned in defence of the Bradford 12, calling on people to support the demand to *Drop all charges now!* RCG-FRFI supporters have also participated on street meetings in Longsight, another working class area, organised by Manchester Bradford 12 Support Committee. Manchester RCG-FRFI will continue to organise such street meetings.

EVENTS
15-21 NOVEMBER
DUNDEE IRISH REPUBLICAN SOLIDARITY COMMITTEE Film Show Ireland Hunger Strike Thursday 19 November 7.00pm Wellgate Library
SOUTH LONDON Fund raising benefit Thursday 19 November at Battersea Arts Centre presenting TARA arts group. Organised by S London Bradford 12 Support Group
WOOLWICH DEFENCE CAMPAIGN Fund-raising benefit Saturday 21 November 7.00pm onwards at Thames Poly, Wellington Street. Forward with 'Prophecy Sound System and Street Culture (Brixton)'
South London Bradford 12 Support Group Street Meeting - Free the Bradford 12! Drop All Charges Now! Saturday 21 November at 11.00am Outside British Home Store Tooting Broadway
NORTH LONDON Street meetings to mobilise for N London demonstration: Victory to the Irish People! Troops Out Now! 21 November Archway Tube N19 2.00pm 28 November Archway Tube N19 2.00pm

BRADFORD Street meeting Saturday 21 November Free the Bradford 12 Held at Woodhead Road 2pm Bradford 7	DUNDEE IRISH REPUBLICAN SOLIDARITY COMMITTEE Demonstration Victory to the Irish People! Smash British Imperialism! Saturday 28 November Assemble 11.30am at Invercraig Place, Charleston (off South Road)	DEMONSTRATION AZIZ MALIK Demonstration in support of Aziz Malik still held in Armley Gaol awaiting deportation. Saturday 5 December, assemble 1.30pm at Dewsbury Baths, Dewsbury. Organised by Friends of Aziz Malik, c/o 104 Commercial Street Batley, telephone Batley 477500	MANCHESTER Public Rally Democracy for the Rich, Repression for the Poor! Defend the Bradford 12! Thursday 10 December 7.30pm Longsight Library Stockport Road, Longsight Manchester Speakers invited: Bradford 12 Campaign, Sinn Fein Moslem Students Society (Supporters of PMOI), Moss Side Defence Committee, RCG-FRFI	Bloody Sunday Commemoration Sunday 31 January 1982 Coventry. Organised by Bloody Sunday Commemoration Committee. Further details to be announced
MANCHESTER FRIENDS OF AZIZ MALIK Public Meeting Thursday 26 November 7.30pm Batley Town Hall, Batley	SOUTH LONDON Public Meeting Thursday 26 November 7.30pm The Milan Centre, 59 Trinity Road Nearest tube Tooting Bec London SW17 Organised by S London Bradford 12 Support Group	BRADFORD Public Rally Democracy for the Rich, Repression for the Poor! Wednesday 9 December 7.30pm Cellar Bar, Queens Hall, Morley Street, Bradford	BRADFORD 12 National Demonstration Saturday 12 December Assemble 1.30pm Lister Park, Manningham Lane, Bradford	LONDON All-London Rally Democratic Rights Under Attack Friday 5 February 7.30pm Conway Hall (Small Hall) Red Lion Square London WC1 (Nearest tube - Holborn) Speakers: Alastair Logan, RCG-FRFI, others to be invited
SOUTH LONDON Public Meeting Thursday 26 November 7.30pm The Milan Centre, 59 Trinity Road Nearest tube Tooting Bec London SW17 Organised by S London Bradford 12 Support Group	DEMONSTRATION Manchester Martyrs Commemoration Sunday 29 November, assemble 1.30pm at St Patricks Church, Oldham Road, Manchester. Organised by Sinn Fein (Britain)	EDINBURGH Public Meeting Democracy for the Rich, Repression for the Poor! Wednesday 9 December 7.30pm Edinburgh Trades Council Picardy Place, Edinburgh	COMING SOON	STREET MEETINGS
BRADFORD MUMTAZ KIANI DEFENCE CAMPAIGN Demonstration Saturday 28 November Assemble at 11.30am at Infirmary Fields (corner of Lumb Lane) Bradford 8	GLASGOW COURT PICKET Defend Mike Duffield Supporter of Fight Racism! Fight Imperialism! and the Glasgow Hunger Strike Action Committee arrested on May Day Demonstration for shouting 'Victory to the Hunger Strikers! Political Status Now!' Wednesday 2 December 1981 1.30-2.00pm Glasgow District Court St Andrews Street, Glasgow	South London Irish Solidarity Campaign Public Meeting Victory to the Irish People! The Struggle Goes On! Thursday 10 December at 7.00pm Room 29, Lambeth Town Hall Brixton	AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS (South Africa) CONCERT Theatre Royal, Drury Lane John Dankworth, Cleo Laine, John Williams, George Melly 13 December 1981 at 7.30pm In aid of SOLOMON MAHLANGU FREEDOM COLLEGE, TANZANIA	MANCHESTER Street meetings in support of The Bradford 12 21 November Moss Side Precinct 11.00-12.30pm 28 November Longsight Market 11.00am-12.30pm 5 December Longsight Market 11.00am onwards To mobilise for demonstration in support of the Bradford 12.
Iran Solidarity MANCHESTER National Demonstration in Manchester Condemn Khomeini's Regime! Support the Resistance for Democratic Rights and Freedom in Iran! Saturday 28 November Assemble 1.00pm at BBC Buildings Oxford Road. March to UMIST	NORTH LONDON Street meeting in support of the Bradford 12 and to mobilise support for national demonstration 5 December Archway Tube N19 2.00pm	LIVERPOOL Rally Democracy for the Rich, Repression for the Poor! Friday 11 December 7.30pm Stanley House Upper Parliament Street Liverpool 8	DEMONSTRATION IRISH SOLIDARITY North London Demonstration Saturday 19 December, Assemble Archway Tube 1.00pm Victory to the Irish People! Troops Out Now!	South London Irish Solidarity Campaign Street Meetings Victory to the Irish People! The Struggle Goes On! Saturday 28 November and 5 December Opposite Lambeth Town Hall, Brixton 2pm
NORTH LONDON Street meetings to mobilise for N London demonstration: Victory to the Irish People! Troops Out Now! 21 November Archway Tube N19 2.00pm 28 November Archway Tube N19 2.00pm		LEEDS Regional Rally Democracy for the Rich, Repression for the Poor! Sunday 20 December 4.00pm Astoria Centre Roundhay Road Leeds 8.		LEEDS Every Saturday 11.00am Reginald Terrace, Leeds 7 In support of Bradford 12/ Leeds 3/Irish Liberation War

FOR SALE/HIRE

SACTU 1982 CALENDAR

E2

Each month is illustrated and has information of dates and activities of the South African Workers struggle
SPECIAL OFFER 10 for £18 Obtainable from South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU) 38 Graham Street London W18JX Money with orders please SUPPORT THE SOUTH AFRICAN LIBERATION STRUGGLE

VIDEO FILM

1 hour-long video

Ireland's Hunger Strike available from Glasgow Irish Freedom Action Committee Write for details to GIFA, Box 15 First of May Bookshop, 43 Candlemaker Row, Edinburgh

SOLIDARITY COMMITTEES

GLASGOW NAME CHANGE

The Glasgow Hunger Strike Action Committee has now changed its name to:
The Glasgow Irish Freedom Action Committee
Contact GIFA, Box 15, First of May Bookshop, 43 Candlemaker Row, Edinburgh

The Glasgow Irish Freedom Action Committee

meets weekly to organise work in Glasgow in support of the struggle for Irish liberation. For details write to GIFA, Box 15, First of May Bookshop, 43 Candlemaker Row, Edinburgh

North London Irish Solidarity Committee meetings:

Thursday 20 November 7.30pm
Thursday 10 December 7.30pm
Thursday 17 December 7.30pm
All at The Mitford Centre, Mitford Road, off Tollington Way, N19. All welcome to come and help build the demonstration

South London Irish Solidarity Committee

Welcomes all who are willing to work for the right of the Irish people to self-determination and support the struggle of Irish prisoners of war. Next meeting is on 18 November 7.30pm in Room 125, Lambeth Town Hall, Brixton Hill. Contact the committee at BM Box 4835, London WC1N 3XX

FRFI SUPPORTER GROUPS

■ LONDON Meets fortnightly. For further details write to S London FRFI BM Box 4835 London WC1N 3XX

■ LONDON Meets fortnightly on Tuesdays. Next meetings Tuesday 24 November 7.30pm and Tuesday 8 December 7.30pm at the Mitford Centre, Mitford Road, off Tollington Way, London N19

■ CARDIFF Meets fortnightly. Next meetings Thursday 19 November 7.30pm and Thursday 3 December 7.30pm. At Wales Empire Pool, Committee Room A, Cardiff.

■ EDINBURGH Meets fortnightly on Sundays. Next meeting Sunday 29 November 7.30pm. At First of May Bookshop, Candlemaker Row, Edinburgh.

■ DUNDEE Meets fortnightly on Sundays. Next meeting Sunday 22 November. Details from FRFI sellers or write to RCG Box 10, First of May Bookshop, 43 Candlemaker Row, Edinburgh

■ ABERDEEN Anyone interested should write to FRFI c/o Boomtown Books, 187 King Street Aberdeen

■ MANCHESTER Meets fortnightly on Sundays. For details contact local FRFI sellers.

■ LEEDS Meets every second Tuesday. Next meetings 24 November and 8 December at 7.30 Leeds Trades Hall Saville Mount, Leeds 7. To contact Leeds FRFI write to LAP Box 10, 59 Cookridge Street Leeds 2

■ BRADFORD meets every second Thursday at 7.30pm. Next meetings 26 November and 10 December, Conference Room, Queens Hall, Morey Street, Bradford

■ LIVERPOOL meets every second Friday at 7.30pm. Next meeting 27 November, Stanley House, Upper Parliament Street Liverpool 8

LETTERS

Racism on South London estates

More and more people on South London estates are being attacked by racist gangs of NF or British Movement thugs usually numbering about 6 or 7 going around beating up black youths. Ian S left a friend's house on the Lansdown Green Estate Stockwell on Sunday 10 October at 10.45pm. He was walking down Wandsworth Road where he was attacked by 6 skinheads. He was beaten and knocked to the pavement. One of his attackers pulled a knife to stab him but 2 passers-by stopped to help him and the skins ran off. Ian went back to a friends then he and a few of his friends went out to look for the skinheads. They headed towards Jeffreys Road and met 2 Nigerian men who had also been beaten up. The description the Nigerian men gave of their attackers was the same as Ian's. The Nigerian men pointed the way in which they had gone. Ian and his friends headed towards Clapham Road where they saw an Indian man who had been beaten and stabbed. A few people saw it happen and there again the descriptions fitted the same Nazi thugs who had beaten Ian and the two Nigerian men and had also stabbed the Indian man. It's obvious to see it's the same group doing the attacks. The police who were around at the time didn't even drive around the area looking for the suspects, so it's left up to us to put a stop to these attacks. It's time to stand up and fight back, stand up for ourselves and our families. It's time for something to be done to put a stop to these Nazi NFers from attacking people on our streets.

SD
Stockwell South London

Day of solidarity with socialist Poland

Dear Comrades
There was a discussion on the current events in Poland at a recent FRFI Supporters Group in Edinburgh. We felt that, whatever the work which needs to be done by the Polish Party to regain the confidence of the working class there, there is a definite need to countermand the hypocrisy of British and American 'concern' for democratic rights in Poland. The TU leadership, the Labour Party, and their supporters in the trotskyist groups are the main culprits for the strength of anti-Soviet and anti-Communist propaganda here.

I think that real communists have to show what is the real root of the West's 'concern' for Polish 'freedom' (to be exploited by the imperialist nations just like all the other 'free' and starving millions). The Labour Party, the SWP and IMG should be asked to really aid the Polish working class and poor peasantry, by condemning the blackmailing role of the imperialist banks. Do they want to see capitalism restored in Poland? Do they really believe that the 'Solidarity' Programme of profit-making enterprise instead of centralised planning, private farming instead of collective control, free speech for Solzhenitsyn-type West-lovers will bring 'real socialism' to Poland?

What about calling a Day of Solidarity with Socialist Poland and organising for all genuine communists and anti-imperialists to picket major banks in cities up and down Britain? All those who genuinely have the interests of the Polish people at heart would join in to demand the cancelling of all Poland's debts to the imperialist banks.

I've also been giving fellow supporters of your paper a helping hand to sell both FRFI and 'Hands Off Ireland' badges. As well as this I've also been helping distribute leaflets which advertise future marches and filmshows among many things.

All the best with future papers.
GH (14 years old)

Edinburgh FRFI Group

Total decay

Dear Comrades,
I enjoy reading your newspaper. It gives the truth about what is happening in this country and northern Ireland and the rest of the world. I could not convey the basic issues of the total decay in our society under the hated Thatcher government.

AK
Kent

Cyprus

Dear Editor,
I've been buying FRFI regularly and although you cover most countries plights you continuously forget about Cyprus. Cyprus is a prime example of western imperialism. In 1961, Great Britain, Greece and Turkey appointed themselves guarantors of the Island's independence. In 1974 these three NATO countries nearly destroyed it. Greece instigated the military coup which overthrew the Government whilst Great Britain refused to act and watched on while Turkey invaded and captured 40% of the island at the cost of 5,000 dead and 3,000 still 'missing'. Today, 7 years later, Turkish troops still occupy 40% of the land, 25,000 mainland Turks have settled in Cypriot homes – Greek and Turkish Cypriot – and 200,000 people, nearly half the population, have been made refugees.

The de facto situation imposed on Cyprus is gradually being accepted by all Cypriots as final. No country in the world seems to care.

I expect your newspaper to take a more active role in informing your readers about this disgraceful situation. Don't wait until it's too late. It's better to prevent another Palestinian problem, than to allow it to be created and then to come out in support of the cause of Cypriots.

Yours sincerely

KP
Finsbury Park, London

Editorial Note: We welcome comrade KP's letter. Comrade KP knows much more about Cyprus and British imperialism's role there than we do. We would therefore happily consider printing an article by KP on the situation. We also urge other readers wishing to contribute articles on Cyprus or Turkey to submit them to FRFI.

March bans

Dear Comrades,
I've been reading your paper for quite a few months now, and think it an excellent collection of writings. I would like to point out particularly the interview with Francis Hurson while on the four day tour of the Hunger Strikers' relatives organised by Sinn Fein, in last month's FRFI.

Apart from reading, I find enough time to write letters, one of which was headed at my local MP, Mr Dalyell. I pointed out to him that fellow comrades of Glasgow, Edinburgh and neighbouring towns and villages were being deprived their democratic right by being refused permission to march by a one month ban, while a loyalist march was being prepared and allowed to go ahead. As usual it was not censored or disrupted in any way.

I've also been giving fellow supporters of your paper a helping hand to sell both FRFI and 'Hands Off Ireland' badges. As well as this I've also been helping distribute leaflets which advertise future marches and filmshows among many things.

All the best with future papers.
GH (14 years old)

West Lothian

Imperialist Glenrothes

Sir,
Can you please send times and places of FRFI meetings in Dundee.

Here in the American Imperialist town of Glenrothes there is, as yet, no political movement.

Things could start happening soon with 3034 unemployed, myself included.

I am
DA
Fife

Support

Dear Comrade,

I received a leaflet at the recent Celtic home game and I wonder if you would let me come along to some of your meetings as I am interested in joining the Action Committee... I would also like to learn more about the RCG group as I buy the paper every 2 months. I would like to possibly place an order for maybe 10 or 12 of them to sell for you every month...

Yours UTP
R
Glasgow

Liverpool repression

Dear FRFI,

I'm charged with threatening behaviour and I'm now waiting trial at Liverpool Crown Court.

I would like to know how I can be in the Crown Court for this charge, while others have been told they cannot elect for trial on this charge.

Police come round the back of my house and call me and my girlfriend and also the rest of this household abusive names. I watch the police most nights at the back of my house with the whores. I've been to the police at Hope Street, where I was told to 'F... Off, they don't cater for niggers'. I went to the HQ to see some one, who told me after I gave him my story, if I had some names to give him or if I could identify anyone. All this pig shit happened 2.30 in the god damned morning so I signed my complaint and left.

I believe that most of our troubles in Liverpool 8 are caused by Coppers Hill Pig. Here they openly tell you they 'don't like niggers and nigger lovers' and 'they have a niggers interview room'.

I have had a sight of the police pissing over the plants in my yard, my girlfriend has been manhandled by police during one of their raids on my house where the doors of the house and my flat have been smashed in with hammers and crow bars. I could go on and on, but I won't.

The People will go back on the streets, only this... time we'll level this... slave porting city once and for all.

All power to the people
Revolution
BR
Liverpool 8

SEND US YOUR NEWS

Please note our new address is:
FRFI,
BCM Box 5909,
London WC1N 3XX

Parliamentary conspiracy

The letter printed below was sent to Glasgow Hunger Strike Action Committee. They have asked us to print it.

Dear Comrades,
Thank you for your recent letter in support of my intention to move the writ for the Fermanagh and South Tyrone by-election. I was very glad to have indications of support because I have been under severe pressure during recent months because of my small intervention in Northern Ireland politics.

I have been increasingly appalled during my years as a representative in the British Parliament about the conspiracy, particularly between front benchers, over the continuing war in the North. The media treatment of those of us who indicate opposition and dissent confirms the nearly complete partisanship of the British media where the interests of the State are concerned.

I believe it is essential for far more radical positions to be developed in Wales and Scotland in attacking the British State, and the issue of the North of Ireland seems to me to be a crucial area where our political activity ought to be concentrated. I am appalled to think what future historians of the 20th century will think of far too many of us who remain silent in the face of an appalling manifestation of state repression and an undermining of rights.

James Connolly has been too formative in the political philosophy of the National Left in Wales for us to maintain a silent complicity any longer.

Dafydd Ellis Thomas

MP for Melrionnydd

TUC Imperialism

Dear FRFI,
Your attack on Bill Sirs in FRFI 12 was most informative of the corrupt and pro-imperialist leadership of the TUC. It prompts me to write about Alan Fisher (leader of NUPE). He too has a similar record. It was he who chaired this year's TUC conference at Brighton and he shares responsibility for the TUC's imperialist views on Ireland, South Africa and the racist treatment of black trade unionists.

About two years ago the ancillary workers at the Royal Victoria Hospital Belfast went on strike about the army taking it over and using the patients and staff as cover from attack by the IRA, and also using the hospital as a base to attack the surrounding Falls Road area.

Alan Fisher ordered these workers (all NUPE members) to return to work immediately! What would be his reaction if a teaching hospital in England was occupied by a foreign army? And that army having access to patients' most intimate details of their lives on medical files, and also patrolling the hospital corridors? His reaction speaks for itself.

Also his treatment of Filipino workers facing deportation (again mainly NUPE members) was only a mere gesture which never threatened the racist immigration laws.

I suspect that the entire TUC leadership has a similar record. Surely those who campaign inside the TUC ought to see that they cannot change these racist imperialist Judases!

FRFI does great work. Keep it up.

Your fraternally,
CMcG
South London

RCP racism

Dear Comrades,

Today, tendencies towards imperialist colonisation are reemerging at the world social level. Capitalist imperialism has enslaved the oppressed nations of the world. The basic question posed by imperialism to left revolutionaries is: which side

you are on? In Britain, the starting point of petit bourgeois socialist groups to lay conditions upon the liberation movements of the oppressed. Imperialist racism reflected itself, though in a modified form, in the social psychology of our middle class socialists ranging from the CP, SWP, IMG and RCP. The latter notable for its conscious repudiation of the liberation movement in South Africa while objectively becoming proletarian in content.

The imperialist oppression of the black workers and peasants in South Africa is of necessity the British state and the South African ruling class. The solution to the crisis of profitability in Britain inseparable from the brutal maintenance of the institutional apartheid in South Africa. In final analysis, any threat which could severely undermine the racist South African state precipitates the imperialist participation of Britain for the show down.

This alone is the material basis for adopting a consistent Leninist position on the South African question. This is especially reinforced by the pervasive racism which exists in the British labour movement.

For the RCP, reality has taken an inverted form. Enjoying a relatively secure place in the imperialist heartland, our ex-students have the luxury of moralising criticisms against ANC. Even if the leadership has reduced proletarian politics to populism, it is the task of revolutionaries to settle the matter. For the RCP, the tragic self-comprehension of its historical irrelevance. The catastrophe is not far ahead. Yours fraternally SF
Canterbury
PS. Recently, I was a close contact of the RCP. I have now abandoned it for the above reasons.

BECOME A FIGHT RACISM! FIGHT IMPERIALISM! SUPPORTER

If you are willing to help the work which FRFI is doing, become an FRFI supporter.

We need more people to sell FRFI and to involve others in the fightback. We need more people writing for FRFI about their local struggles and campaigns.

Fill in your name and address on the form below, and send £5. You will receive a supporter card, a year's subscription to FRFI and details of all our activities in your area and nationally. (Postal orders and cheques payable to Larkin Publications)

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BCM Box 5909 London WC1N 3XX

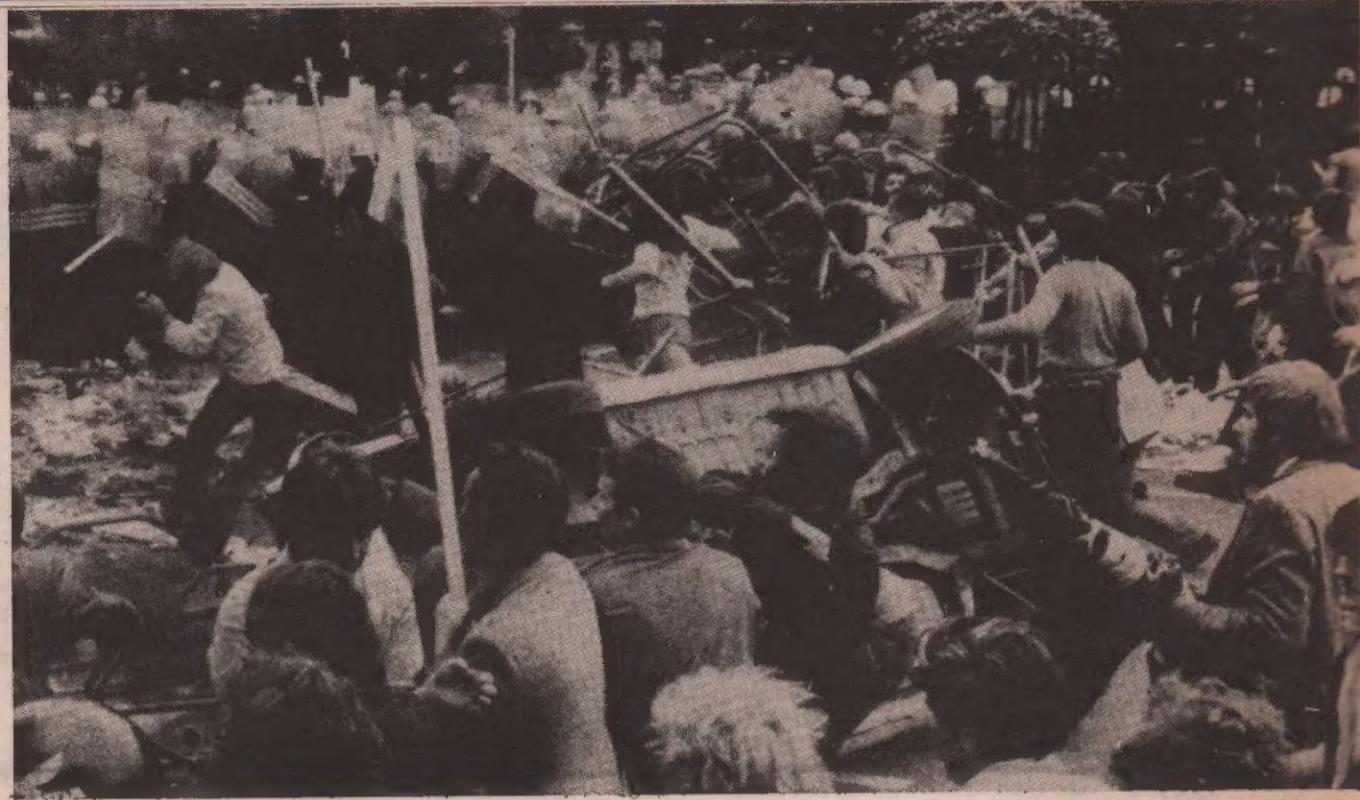
HANDS OFF IRELAND

LOYALIST TERROR

concerted wave of terror directed against the nationalist community in Belfast by loyalist gangs last month left three people dead in the space of just one week. On 8 October loyalist gunmen shot dead Larry Kennedy, an independent Belfast councillor, and seriously injured another man as they stood in the entrance to a social club in the Ardoyne. The killers, one of whom was armed with a machine gun, clearly intended to inflict a wholesale massacre on the people in the club, but the shots which killed Larry Kennedy alerted the people in the club and they met the killers with a barrage of bottles and glasses, causing the man with the machine gun to fire wide. The following Monday in the same area of North Belfast, Bobby Ewing, a married man with three children, was sitting at home with his wife watching a report of the funeral of Larry Kennedy on TV when two loyalist gunmen ran in through his open front door and shot him dead. Three days

later, across the city in the Markets area – a nationalist area, like the Ardoyne, which is close to loyalist areas and is therefore particularly vulnerable to attack – loyalist gunmen shot dead a 69 year old woman, Mrs Mary McKay, as she lay in bed.

It is no coincidence that these three random assassinations followed immediately after the British government's announcement of the 'reforms' to be introduced at Long Kesh. As always, when they feel that the British government is being too 'soft' on the nationalist community, loyalist gangs take it on themselves to keep the nationalist people 'in their place' – ie to re-emphasise their continued subjection to British and loyalist rule – through the use of indiscriminate terror. This time, however, such loyalist terror brought a swift response from the nationalist community. The day after the killing of Mrs McKay the INLA executed a leading member of the UDA, the organisation which is generally believed to have been responsible for the recent killings and which is known to have been responsible for numerous similar killings in the past. The INLA emphasised, in an interview given to *Saoirse* (the paper of the IRSP in Belfast), that the execution of the UDA man 'was not a "sectarian tit-



Gardai protect British Embassy

for-tat killing' as the media have claimed. The UDA have been responsible for a series of random murders against the nationalist population. We are unwilling to engage in such random acts. But we will hit those in the UDA who order or carry out these murders. We must defend the people in our areas'.

Irish correspondent

GLASGOW-on the streets again!

On Saturday 7 November the Glasgow Hunger Strike Action Committee organised and successfully held a march calling for 'Victory to the Irish People!'. The march was the first in Glasgow after four months of bans under the Public Order Act. Although small in numbers, the marchers' enthusiasm made it militant and noisy. The march went from Blackhill through Royston and back to Blackhill, winding its way through some of the poorest areas of Glasgow. Solidarity with Ireland's freedom fighters was once again raised in the city streets and the march was well received by local people with many joining in along the pavements.

The march ended with a rally where speakers from the GHSAC and the RCG called for the campaign to go forward and asked for assistance in protecting and defending meetings and rallies.

The police and Strathclyde Regional Council allowed the march to go ahead under pressure from a GHSAC campaign to secure the right to march. Hundreds of local people signed petitions, letters were printed in newspapers and MP Ron Brown demanded that marches go ahead. MPs Ernie Roberts and Dafydd Thomas also gave their support as did the Scottish Council of Civil Liberties.

The successful march will give a welcome boost to the campaign for Irish freedom in Glasgow. It will answer those critics in middle class left circles who do not support the GHSAC's determined and public campaigning. It will give heart to those who believed that after February's march and the following bans there would never be another march in Glasgow.



Glasgow march 7 November

GLASGOW MEETINGS ON IRELAND

On every occasion when the police have been unable to silence supporters of the Irish liberation struggle in Glasgow by the use of bans or harassment, Scottish Loyalists have been dragged out of the gutters to do the police's dirty work.

On Thursday 29 October, a showing of the film 'The Patriot Game' organised by the Glasgow Hunger Strike Action Committee (GHSAC) came under an organised attack from Scottish Loyalists. Not only did they spit on and harass people attending the meeting but also a handful of them wormed their way into the meeting posing as supporters of the GHSAC. The Loyalists were able to violently disrupt the meeting, slightly injuring four people and smashing up the projection equipment.

Having received this boost to their confidence the Loyalist scum tried to repeat this at an RCG meeting on Ireland held on Tuesday 3 November in Glasgow. But on this occasion, a large number of stewards had been mobilised. The mere presence of this stewarding force was enough to deter the Loyalists. The meeting went ahead undisturbed.

It is clear that the right to hold public meetings must be fought for and defended. This means having large numbers of stewards to protect meetings on Ireland. The RCG is supporting moves by the Glasgow Irish Freedom Action Committee (formerly GHSAC) to get together a group of stewards who will be prepared to defend all events which may be attacked by Scottish Loyalists. We urge supporters of FRFI in Glasgow to join with us to defend the right to campaign in support of Irish freedom and national liberation.

Mike Gibbs

THE EMBASSY 20

An intensive campaign in defence of the right to demonstrate against state victimisation and criminalisation has been launched by the National H-Block/Armagh Committee throughout the 26 Counties. The campaign's chief focus is the attempted frame-up of twenty young working class supporters of Irish political prisoners who attended an H-Block demonstration outside the British Embassy last 18 July and were present during the vicious police riot.

As the march neared the Embassy that day, Free State police (Gardai) blocked off the route in a deliberate act of provocation and aligning with British imperialism. Marchers insisted on their right to demonstrate but were beaten back by the brutal assaults of romping Gardai. Scores of people including elderly men and women were mercilessly batoned to the ground.

In consequence of a follow-up operation a select number of twenty marchers prominent in the Youth/Trade Unions section of the H-Block campaign find

themselves before the non-jury Special Criminal Court charged with obstruction offences under the anti-Republican Offences Against the State Act. The charges carry a maximum penalty of twenty years imprisonment.

The first significant action to be undertaken by the National H-Block/Armagh Committee in defence of the Embassy 20 is a march to the Bridewell Garda station in Dublin on 7 November. Such mobilisations will be repeated outside the Special Criminal Court each time the defendants appear in court. The Committee in addition has committed itself to levying finance to pay the legal costs of defending the 20 H-Block Action Groups throughout the country have been instructed to highlight state repression by lobbying public representatives, writing to the press and generally publicising the issue.

It has been pointed out that failure to exert maximum pressure in countering this state attack would be to allow the state to engage in increasingly more serious attacks on the anti-imperialist movement in the future.

Morrigan

IRA EXECUTES BRADFORD

On Saturday 14 November Robert Bradford, Ulster Unionist MP for South Belfast, was executed by the IRA because he was 'one of the very people responsible for winding up the loyalist paramilitary sectarian machine in the north'. (IRA statement)

The execution of this arch-reactionary, who advocated summary execution of nationalists and the re-introduction of the death penalty, has provided the usual lying hypocrisy from the Government, Labour Party, Paisley, SDLP, Fianna Fail, Fine Gael etc. All of these people have said and done nothing about the mounting wave of assassinations carried out by loyalist assas-

sins to which this execution is a response.

Don Concannon has joined the hypocrites' chorus on behalf of the Labour Party. Mr Concannon thought it was very sad that an MP who worked on behalf of his constituents should be murdered in this way. This filthy lackey of the ruling class hopes that we have forgotten his infamous visit to Bobby Sands where he publicly supported the murder of Bobby Sands M.P. by the Thatcher government.

The sympathy and solidarity of communists goes not to the likes of Bradford but to all the Irish men, women and children who have suffered and died in the struggle for Irish freedom.

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